

# The SOCIAL SERVICE REVIEW

VOLUME I

DECEMBER 1927

NUMBER 4

## SOCIAL WORK IN FRANCE

THE background and framework of social work in France is the Assistance Publique. It is therefore necessary to set out briefly the structure and functions of the organization for its administration, and to trace rapidly the course of its development. In the following pages an attempt will be made to present a brief survey. It is hoped that in later numbers of this *Review* the subjects of the treatment of dependent<sup>1</sup> and delinquent<sup>2</sup> children in France, of the warfare against the social diseases, and the anti-tuberculosis movement, and of the *mutualités*,<sup>3</sup> or benefit organizations, may be set out at greater length.

The Assistance Publique is founded on the principle that the state owes a subsistence to those who, because of physical incapacity, are unable to provide for themselves: a doctrine promulgated by the Revolution, although the laws governing the actual administration have largely been elaborated since 1889, the date of the appointment of the Superior Council of the Assistance Publique. It can thus be said that the Assistance Publique of today owes its existence to the reaction from the older system, under which relief was a voluntary matter, with its administration almost entirely in the hands of the church.

<sup>1</sup> *Enfants assistés.*

<sup>2</sup> *Enfants délinquants.*

<sup>3</sup> *Les mutualités maternelles et scolaires.*

The Assistance Publique, which is under the direction of the ministry of labor, hygiene, and public welfare,<sup>1</sup> has at its disposal funds from the national treasury and the returns from certain special taxes; it is administered by a special body of officials (*Inspecteurs de l'Assistance Publique*) under the immediate authority of the *préfets* or representatives of the central government in the provinces and with the co-operation of the *maires* of villages all over France. Its general structure and methods are carefully defined by statute.

It does not, in general, strive to do individual, constructive social work along with its distribution of the government's relief, but provides a minimum amount of relief to certain specified categories of helpless people: the old, infirm, and incurable;<sup>2</sup> the sick;<sup>3</sup> parents of families too large for support without state aid;<sup>4</sup> orphans and abandoned children, the latter of whom are characterized by the statutes as (1) *enfants maltraités, délaissés, ou moralement abandonnés*,<sup>5</sup> (2) as *enfants assistés*, and (3) *pupilles de la nation*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This Ministry is the central authority in charge of the administration of public assistance and public hygiene and includes various services of interest to the social worker. To direct these services there are seven bureaux: (1) a bureau responsible for national philanthropic organizations, and agencies that are under the immediate authority of the ministry, such as those for the blind and deaf, the insane; (2) a bureau concerned with problems of infant and child care; (3) a bureau caring for the infirm and sick of adult years; (4) a bureau of social hygiene, which means the warfare against tuberculosis as well as against venereal disease; (5) a bureau of general public hygiene and public sanitation; (6) a bureau of preventive sanitation; (7) a bureau of general administration, having supervision over fraternal orders, benefit societies, and social insurance. Attention should be called to the fact that supervision of the *associations reconnues d'utilité publique* is in the Ministry of the Interior, not in the Ministère du Travail, de l'Hygiène, de l'Assistance, et de la Prévoyance Sociales.

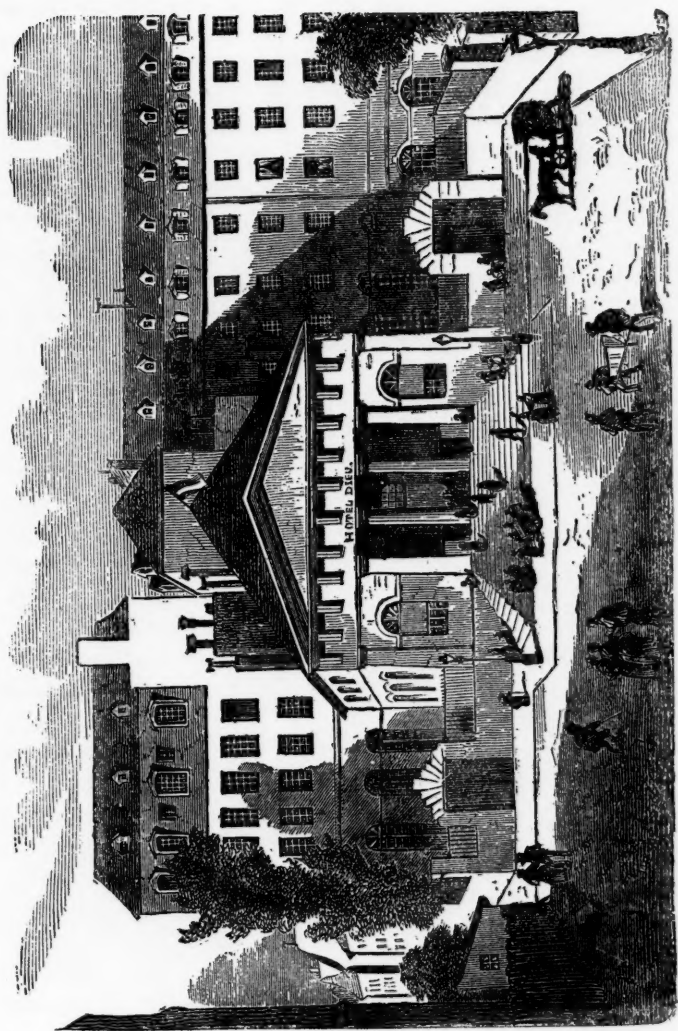
<sup>2</sup> See the Laws of July 14, 1905; December 31, 1907; December 30, 1909. The scales of relief have been increased by recent statutes, July 28, 1919; December 31, 1920; April 30 and December 31, 1920.

<sup>3</sup> The important acts are those of August 7, 1851, and July 15, 1893.

<sup>4</sup> *Familles nombreuses*. See the Laws of August 8, 1890; July 13, 1903; July 20, 1904; July 14, 1913; July 15, 1914; July 31, 1917; June 29, 1918; June 20, 1920; and numerous enactments since 1920, increasing the allowances, exempting from payment of taxes, or amending in some detail this method of assistance to the able-bodied.

<sup>5</sup> The statutes dealing with the treatment of these classes of children are cited and summarized and made conveniently accessible in *Paris charitable, bienfaisant, et social* (1926), pp. 1079, 1081, 1082.

<sup>6</sup> The Office National des Pupilles de la Nation is in the ministry of public instruction and of the fine arts. That office publishes bulletins summarizing and explaining the laws under which the *pupilles de la nation* are cared for.



THE HÔTEL-DIEU BEFORE 1877

Since 1893 there have been frequent statutes providing care for nursing mothers. The recent enactments have at short intervals increased the allowances authorized for this group of persons for whom the state feels great concern.<sup>1</sup>

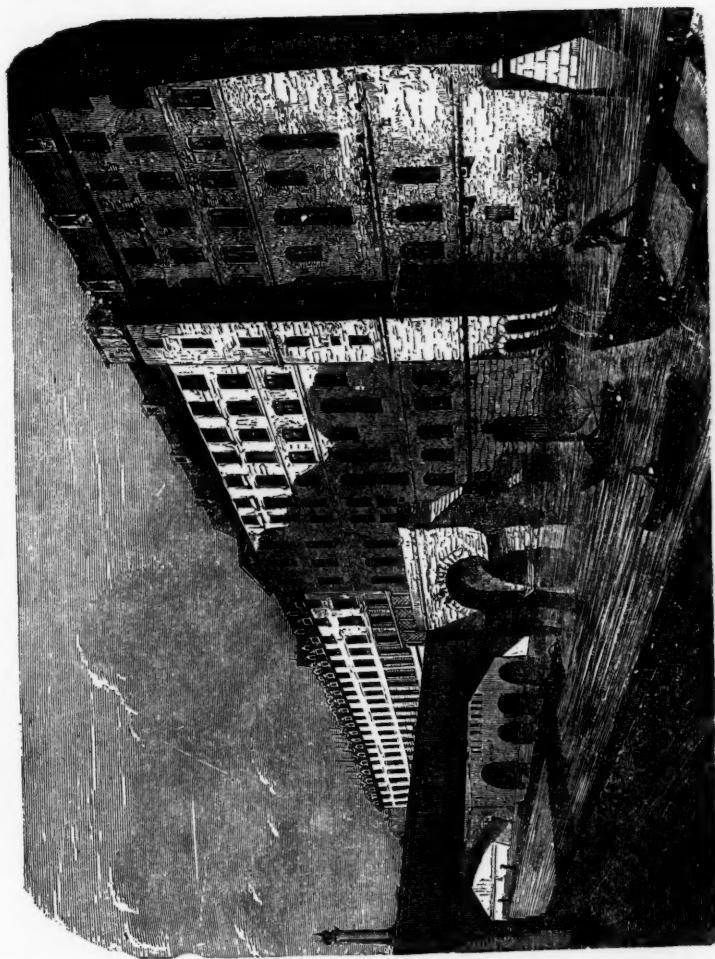
The method adopted for the care of deserted children is that of placing out with peasant families in the country and presents one of the most interesting aspects of the work. The able-bodied person out of employment is not provided for by law; that is, he cannot claim relief as his right, but he may and does receive emergency help at the discretion of officials.

In order to understand the Assistance Publique it is necessary to know something of its growth, and the history of its development should be briefly considered.

After the close of the Hundred Years' War, when the kings of France were able to turn their attention to these problems, they first attempted, by repressive measures, to put an end to begging, which had assumed alarming proportions. But as this policy did not reach the root of the trouble, very little was accomplished. The edicts of the Renaissance kings, however, show several constructive attempts to remedy the situation, and are also interesting because indicative of the spirit of the times. The Reformation was abroad and the Protestant doctrine that faith sufficed tended toward a separation between the church and charitable enterprises. Moreover, the prevailing abuses in the hospitals led to repeated attempts on the part of the kings to take these institutions out of the exclusive control of the church and to establish a civil control. As early as 1505 the Parliament of Paris appointed a commission of laymen to administer the Hôtel-Dieu, or public hospital, heretofore in the charge of the clergy of Notre Dame. Although these efforts were only partly successful, they initiated a balance of control which, in many places, continued and was beneficial. Thereafter many hospitals had boards of civil administrators who audited accounts and controlled expenses. Indeed, many municipal hospitals were founded at this time,

<sup>1</sup> See the laws of July 15, 1893; June 27, 1904; November 27, 1909; March 15, 1910; December 28, 1910; July 13, 1911; June 17, 1913 (known as the Strauss Act); July 30, 1913; August 5, 1917; January 23 and December 2, 1917; October 24, 1919; April 30, 1921; June 30, 1923; February 12 and 28, 1924; July 13, 1925.





THE SOUTH FAÇADE OF THE OLD HÔTEL-DIEU

for there was a new spirit of local responsibility. This tendency is also illustrated in the royal edicts: the communes were to take care of their own poor. In the Edict of Moulins in 1566 the principle of "settlement" is definitely stated and provision made for a tax for the support of the poor. In all this, says Monnier, the will of the king was doubtless less potent than the "municipal spirit." "As charity began to take the form of a tax, it was fair that the control of the expense should go from the priest to the magistrate . . . an active and loyal supervision was established."<sup>1</sup>

In spite of all these measures, however, the streaming of vagabonds toward Paris was not stopped, and reached a high point again under Louis XIV. The time now being that of the absolute monarchy, the tendency in government was away from local, and toward central, control. Moreover, the church and the king were close allies. The method used in dealing with the situation was, therefore, different from any previously followed; it consisted in the building of huge institutions in Paris where indoor relief was given on a large scale; where, indeed, the beggars of Paris were forcibly housed. This group of buildings was called the Hôpital Général,<sup>2</sup> and most of them are used today by the Assistance Publique. The Salpêtrière,<sup>3</sup> long famous as an insane asylum for women and today used as a hospital, is one of them. The success of the scheme, however, was doubtful. It resulted in a still larger stream of vagabonds from the provinces, especially in times of famine, when they had to be forcibly stopped at the gates of Paris. On the other hand there were battles in the streets of Paris between the beggars who objected to internment and the Archers de l'Hôpital, whose duty it was to lock them up, and in these riots the population sided with the beggars and derided the soldiers.<sup>4</sup>

Nevertheless there seem to have been at this period symptoms of a general interest in the problems of the poor, and in this connection the name which springs to mind is that of St. Vincent de Paul.<sup>5</sup>

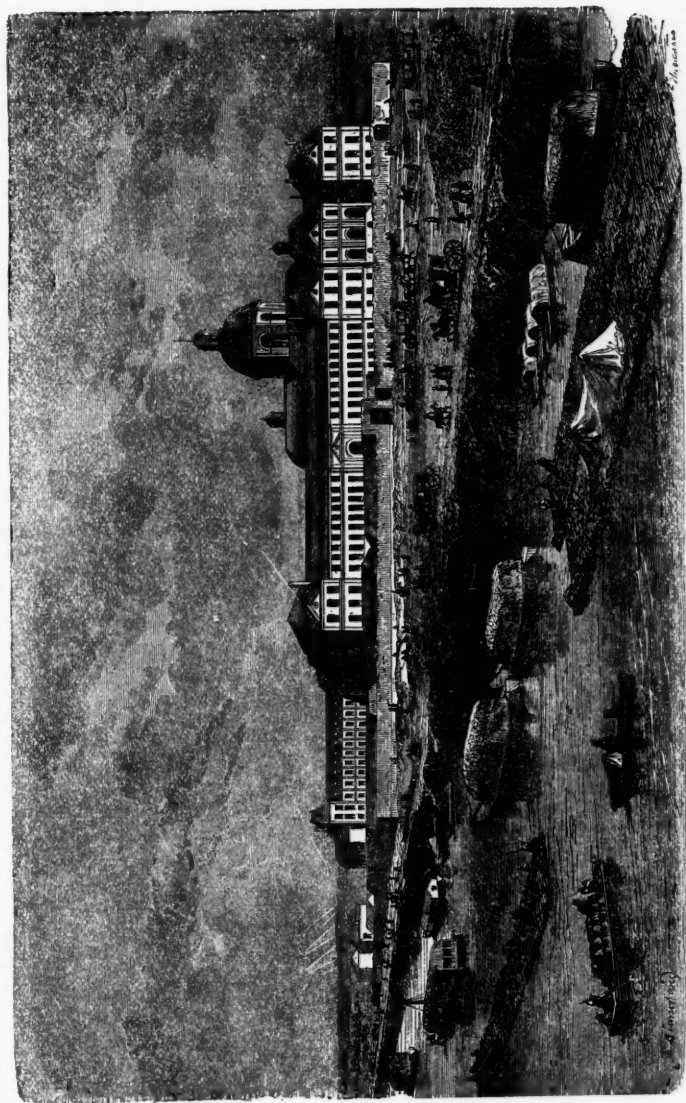
<sup>1</sup> Alexandre Monnier, *Histoire de l'Assistance Publique*, p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> Léon Lallemand, *Histoire de la Charité*, IV, 256 ff.

<sup>3</sup> By an order of April 20, 1648, this was designated as the place of detention for depraved women and girls.

<sup>4</sup> Lallemand, *op. cit.*, IV, 295.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, *ibid.*, p. 41.



THE SALPÊTRIÈRE  
(From an early print)

The influence of this remarkable man has been an inspiration through the centuries. Although he is chiefly remembered for his work for foundlings and for the order of Les Filles de Charité, which he established, he was a man of many interests and his achievements were both practical and spiritual. He was apparently the first to organize companies of lay men and women to help the poor in a systematic manner. Deeply stirred by the appalling conditions then existing in the prisons, he worked tirelessly to soften the lot of convicts and galley slaves. He was concerned that the people should have proper spiritual leaders, and brought about great reforms in the education of the clergy. With regard to foundlings his work was new, even subversive. Most institutions at the time refused to receive illegitimate children; the only establishment where they were accepted was a wretched house in Paris called La Couche, nominally in charge of the clergy of Notre Dame but really run by a "sordid widow" who allowed most of the babies to die of neglect. Vincent de Paul aroused public sympathy in behalf of these innocent victims; the result was a large establishment managed by the Daughters of Charity where the children received proper care and where an effort was made to train them for work.

The tendencies illustrated by this period—of centralization and indoor relief on a large scale—continued to the time of the Revolution. The church still had many lands and possessions and, in spite of civilian control in some places and growing dissatisfaction, still managed many institutions undisturbed.

The history of charity is always, but more especially at this time, intimately bound up with political history. The Revolution was approaching; the writings of Montesquieu, Diderot, Voltaire, Rousseau, and others had set forth new ideas of government and justice and given form to long-suppressed desires for freedom. Smoldering resentments finally broke out. In the storms of the Revolution the church was linked in the popular mind with royalty and the privileged class of the nobility, and its representatives were equally persecuted. The revolutionary assembly proclaimed the doctrine that the state owed a subsistence to its members, nationalized the goods of the hospitals, and banished the religious orders. Deserted children were to be brought up at the expense of the state as *enfants de la patrie*.

Unfortunately the Revolution tore down the existing system without building a new one.

Its work was notable chiefly as a statement of principles, and it may be said to have prepared for the coming of state relief. At the time, in spite of endless discussion and elaborate plans for the distribution of relief, the management of hospitals, the care of foundlings, and the providing of work for the unemployed poor, nothing was accomplished and the condition of the people grew worse. Several great names, however, indicative both of the advance in medical science and of the new social awakening, come to mind in connection with this period; Tenon,<sup>1</sup> who reformed crude hospital methods; Pinel,<sup>2</sup> who labored for the humane treatment of the insane; Abbé de l'Épée,<sup>3</sup> who taught deaf-mutes, and Valentin Haüy,<sup>4</sup> who taught the blind; and others.

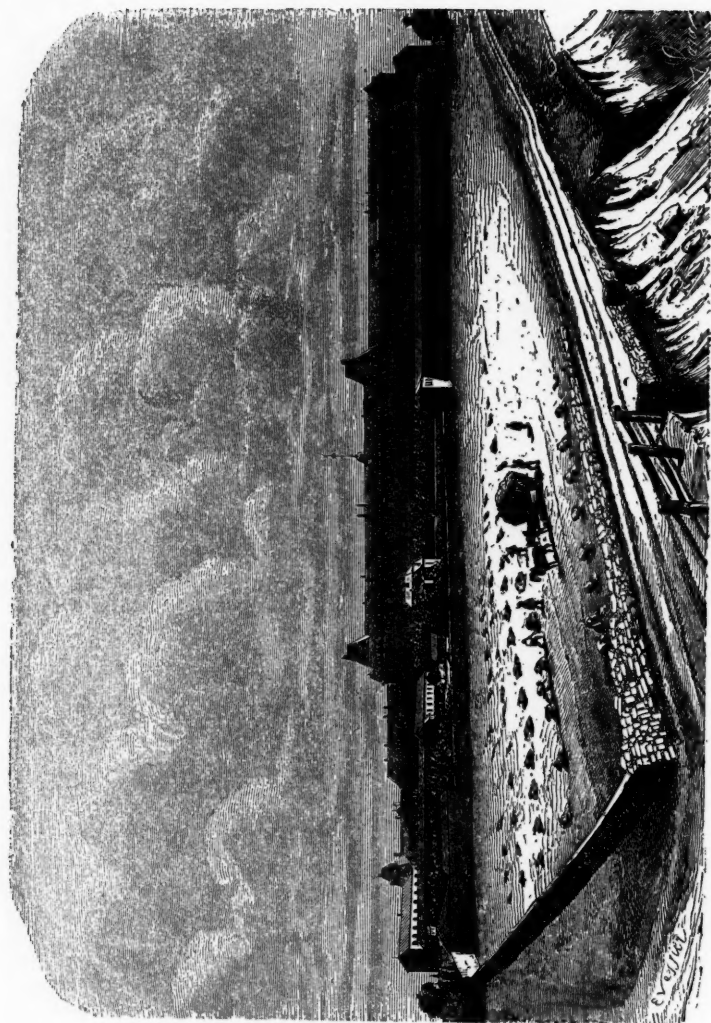
Under the Directoire and the Empire the religious orders were recalled and the old régime was re-established with one important difference: there was a much stronger municipal and civil control. The hospitals were, so far as possible, reinstated in their possessions, but were managed by administrative commissions named by the municipality and approved by the central government. Foundlings were to be under the guardianship of the commissions of the hospitals which received them and were placed out with families in the country. Outdoor relief was in the hands of the Bureaux de Bienfaisance, scattered over the country. These bureaux were the descendants of the Bureaux de Charité, parochial boards established under Francis I when the municipal spirit was strong, and which had received a fresh impulse with the preaching of St. Vincent de Paul. Their

<sup>1</sup> Jaques René Tenon, 1724-1816.

<sup>2</sup> Philippe Pinel, 1745-1826. It was at the Bicêtre that in 1793 Pinel took the chains from the wretched victims in his charge. If it is asked what then was Bicêtre, the reply is "Un vaste pandémonium rempli de toutes les misères; ici les voleurs, là, les assassins, plus loin, étaient les aliénés. Dans l'origine, cet hospice portait le nom de Grange aux Gueux (ou aux Queulx). Propriété vers 1284 du cardinal de Winchester [Vincestre] (d'où par corruption Bicêtre) puis vers 1400 du duc de Berry. Bicêtre fut transformé sous Louis XIII en commanderie de Saint Louis. Il servit de retraite alors jusqu'à la construction des Invalides, aux officiers et aux soldats estropiés. En 1660 il fut compris au nombre des dépendances de l'Hôpital général" (Semelaigne, *Aliénistes et Philanthropes*, p. 44).

<sup>3</sup> Charles-Michel, abbé de l'Épée, 1712-89.

<sup>4</sup> Valentin Haüy, 1743-1822.



THE BICÊTRE



name was now changed in accordance with the prevailing mood which was against all things smacking too strongly of religion.

This system, with alternating waves of religious and antireligious feeling, remained in force until after the War of 1870, when the growth of industrialism had so changed the conditions of life that it was no longer adequate. A commission was then appointed to examine the work of the Bureaux de Bienfaisance, which administered outdoor relief. The work of the Bureaux was found to be very uneven and unstandardized, and a new Bureau of Public Relief was therefore created under the ministry of the interior to take sole charge of all relief matters. The Conseil Supérieur was then appointed continuously to study conditions and to propose legislation. The modern laws are largely the work of this council, which has had among its members men distinguished for their knowledge of social problems and for life-long service to humanity.

The first notable result of the labors of this body was the law providing for free medical relief throughout the country, passed in 1893. In the execution of this law, as in all matters of relief, the commune co-operates and is allowed to choose between several possible methods. The activities<sup>1</sup> of the Bureaux de Bienfaisance have been regulated and their number gradually increased. The whole existing system of caring for foundlings and deserted children was regulated and codified in the law of 1904 for the *enfants assistés*. The relief for the aged, the infirm, and the incurable referred to previously was made compulsory by the law of 1905. More recent legislation has given additional help to parents of large families and to nursing mothers.

About 1904 a wave of anticlerical feeling again swept France; the final separation of church and state took place; the budget for the upkeep of the churches and the support of the priests was withdrawn; many of the religious orders left France; and the government definitely took over the management of the hospitals. In Paris, the control of the hospitals was at this time intrusted to the director of the Assistance Publique for Paris, but in the provinces control re-

<sup>1</sup> See *Revue Philanthropique*, December 15, 1926, and January 15, 1927, for reports on the progress of efforts to bring about a modernization in the methods employed by these bureaus (comment in this *Review*, p. 322).



mained largely a municipal affair. This was merely the final chapter in a struggle between church and state which may be said to have begun at the close of the feudal period.

It may readily be seen why, in France, the question of public versus private relief is not one of mere academic interest, but is embittered by centuries of antagonisms. The Assistance Publique is really the child of the Revolution and, as such, is despised by Royalists and ultra-Catholic sympathizers, who lose no opportunity of attacking it and criticizing its work. It must be admitted that there are grounds for criticism, and that the modern social worker can and does find fault with the Assistance Publique for its somewhat bureaucratic and routine methods, and sometimes for insufficiency in number and quality of personnel. Yet it is impossible to observe the general working of the system without a feeling of admiration and sympathy.

Besides the work done by the Assistance Publique, there is still a considerable amount carried on independently in Catholic foundations and by Catholic orders. The principle on which this service rests is the older one that charity should be voluntary, unconnected with government or laws, the outpouring of the spirit inspired by religious zeal. Although there has been since the Revolution, and indeed since a much earlier time, a struggle between the civil and religious authorities for the control of hospitals, schools, and other institutions, during which the government has acquired greater control, nevertheless the church still has numerous orphanages, schools, and hospitals of its own, the origin of which often goes back to a very early date.

There are also other sectarian organizations—both Jewish and Protestant—and lastly thousands of *oeuvres*, charities of all sorts, due to private initiative, many of which are non-sectarian in character. These may perhaps be said to illustrate a third principle: that of work as the expression of personality. To get an idea of the number of such organizations in Paris alone one has to glance over the volume entitled *Paris Charitable*, published each year by the Office Central des Oeuvres, though this can of course give no real conception of the often very interesting and important work done. These organizations often co-operate successfully with the Assistance Publique

and supplement its work, notably in the case of the Service Social à l'Hôpital, which, though entirely private, with its own funds and its own management, yet performs its service altogether in the big public hospitals of the Assistance Publique. Other instances are the various child-placing organizations such as the Oeuvre Grancher<sup>1</sup> and the Placement Familial des Touts-petits,<sup>2</sup> which place children sent from Paris away from a tuberculous environment. In such cases there are usually three factors involved: the hospital, where the sick parent has come for treatment, the social service worker, who finds out about the children, and the agency which takes the children, public and private charity dovetailing the one into the other to a remarkable degree. Thousands of private organizations all over the country have been "recognized" by the government (*reconnu d'utilité publique*) and receive public subsidies.<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, it is interesting to an American to observe the active part taken by the central government in many of these matters. In 1889 the need of reform was so apparent that the government appointed the Superior Council of the Assistance Publique, the members of which, chosen for their competence in the field of social reform, have studied the needs of the people, and, during the course of years, elaborated most of the present legislation. Usually, however, individual initiative begins what may later be taken up, generalized, and made permanent by the government. Many examples of this may be found. An instance is the Office National d'Hygiène Sociale, which was started by private initiative just after the war, but now has an official character and is connected with the ministry. This is a central bureau of information and propaganda on social and public health matters. It is making a complete survey of the eighty-seven *départements* in order to stimulate reform where needed and gradually co-ordinate the work of social agencies all over the country. The present director of the Office National, M. de Brisac, is a man who

<sup>1</sup> This society puts out such publications as Dr. P. F. Armand-Delille, *L'Assistance Sociale et Ses Moyens d'Action* (1922).

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, Pierre Charles Broussin, *Fonctionnement d'une Goutte de Lait* (a thesis for the doctorate in medicine from the Faculty of Medicine of Paris, 1923).

<sup>3</sup> See law of July 1, 1907, on associations; also the law of May 3, 1916, on *Les Oeuvres Autorisées*; an act providing for the supervision of private charitable organizations was passed by the Deputies July 11, 1912, but failed to pass the Senate.

has been distinguished for his achievements in public health reforms and was for many years a *préfet*.<sup>1</sup> He was minister of hygiene during the war and, most important of all, is personally acquainted with most of the *préfets* of France, and is therefore in a unique position to exert his enlightening influence.

Another example of governmental action—quite apart from the already existing Assistance Publique, which is a system in itself—is to be found in the establishment of the antituberculosis dispensaries in 1916. This action was induced by the efforts of certain public-spirited men who called attention to an obvious and appalling need. The spread of tuberculosis in France, among the refugees, returned soldiers, and their families, had assumed alarming proportions. An act of July 15, 1893, had created the free medical aid to which certain categories of sick persons were entitled, and included tuberculosis among the diseases giving a right to such assistance. In July, 1905, those incurably ill had been given a claim to certain allowances in money. On April 15, 1916, the Bourgeois Act was passed, providing for the establishment of dispensaries. This law, as so often in France, laid down general principles but allowed great individual freedom in order to utilize to the fullest possible extent local resources and existing institutions. Here again the *préfets* were responsible for the execution of the law in their districts.

France now has a network of dispensaries, employing the services of visiting nurses, and of which some are entirely *départemental*, that is, organized and supported by the government, and others are private dispensaries working with the co-operation of the government. It is probable that every dispensary visited would show a utilization of local resources different from any other. These dispensaries, the means devised by modern medical science to fight the spread of disease, should, with their staff of visiting nurses, be a powerful educative and preventive agency throughout the country. The nurses are required to have had special training which can be obtained at

<sup>1</sup> It may be here said, in passing, for the benefit of those unfamiliar with French life, that the *préfet*, or governmental head of each department, occupies a position of responsibility and power. He is directly responsible to the central government for all affairs in his district, is in authority over the regional director of the Assistance Publique, and must give his sanction to all public enterprises. If he is a progressive and socially minded man he has great opportunities for encouraging reforms.

several schools, notably at the École des Infirmières Visiteuses, organized by the Comité National de Défense contre la Tuberculose, a private organization in Paris. In spite of all these gallant efforts it must be admitted, however, that the number of sanatoria is sadly inadequate to the need, in spite of other recent legislation favoring their establishment.<sup>1</sup>

An example of more direct control and management by the central government is found in a certain number of institutions known as *établissements nationaux*, which are operated by the state. Such is the Hospice des Quinze-Vingt, an institution for the blind, founded by St. Louis for fifteen score young blind people. The Maison Nationale de Saint-Maurice is another. This is a very large establishment with long rambling buildings and gardens, terraced on a hillside overlooking the Marne, and devoted largely to the care of the insane. One large wing, however, with its own parks, is a Maison Maternelle, where nursing mothers with their babies may spend sometimes as much as a year at the government's expense, sent most often by the social worker of a maternity hospital. Among the other state institutions are some schools for the deaf and dumb, and several convalescent homes. The question of the insane is again an affair of the *départements*; and the *préfets*, assisted by commissions, are responsible for the proper provision and functioning of institutions in their districts.

To summarize very briefly the main threads of French social service work thus far considered we find: the Assistance Publique, the Catholic and other sectarian organizations, the private organizations, and the work of the government, which, aside from the already definitely organized work of the Assistance Publique, has played an active part, not only by aiding private initiative and by supporting a number of national institutions, but also by executing public health measures of the highest importance.

An idea of the extent and cost of the services rendered by the public agency can be obtained from the data given in the annual statistical summary published by the ministry.<sup>2</sup> The latest figures

<sup>1</sup> Laws of September 17, 1919; August 10, 1920; and of March 30, 1923.

<sup>2</sup> See Ministère du Travail, de l'Hygiène, de l'Assistance, et de la Prévoyance Sociales, Statistique Générale de la France, *Annuaire Statistique* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1926), XLI (1925), 51-74.

refer to the years 1922 and 1923. On the thirty-first of December of 1922 there were, for example, on the books of the ministry as entitled to receive the *assistance obligatoire* as of the aged, infirm and incurable groups, 575,855 persons, of whom 227,243 were men and 348,612 were women. Of these, 559,740 had the communal settlement (*le domicile de secours communal*), 11,364 had departmental settlement (*le domicile de secours départemental*), and 4,751 had no settlement.

The number of persons who had been helped during the year<sup>1</sup> under these categories was 690,709. Of these, 627,872 had received monthly grants and 62,837 had been assisted in hospitals or in boarding-homes. The monthly allowances varied from "less than 5 francs" (25,523) to "more than 25 francs" (66,233); the larger groups received between 5 and 10 francs (141,580) and between 10 and 15 francs (114,138). The cost of this service was 196,794,700 francs, of which 80,741,300 came from the central authority; 74,056,600 from the communes; 40,747,500 from the departments; and 1,249,300 were sums recovered as a repayment for money advanced to patients or clients.

Under the Bureaux de Bienfaisance<sup>2</sup> in the same year, 759,196 persons were assisted at a cost of 103,005,400 francs. Under the Assistance Médicale Gratuite, 26,048,749 persons were aided under the department service, 6,158,167 in other institutions or by other agencies, making a total of 32,206,916 provided with this form of help at a total cost of 95,359,500 francs. As for the *enfants assistés*,<sup>3</sup> there were 236,767 under care at the beginning and 229,331 at the end of the year. Of these, 46,998 of those under care at the beginning and 44,324 of those under care at the end of the year were from Paris (the Department of the Seine), the others from other parts of France.

For expectant mothers or mothers in confinement there were on the books January 1, 1922, 46,035. During the year 291,904 were given aid, making a total of 337,939 aided, of whom 42,120 were under care at the end of the year. Of this number the communal aid was available for 41,157, the departmental aid for 483, and those without settlement were 480. The number of women helped only after confinement was 56,747; those helped both before and after,

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

239,072; the periods during which assistance was given were: less than 4 weeks, 4,988; from four to six weeks, 67,377; from six to eight weeks, 40,167; and eight weeks or more, 183,287.<sup>1</sup>

The cost for this service was 20,546,800 francs, to which might be added supplementary allowances, for nursing their own children, to the amount of 39,585,200 francs. Space does not permit giving here the cost for the care of the insane (*les aliénés*),<sup>2</sup> but the assistance to the *famille nombreuse* has special interest in view of the ancient poor-law attitude toward the able-bodied destitute. Under the authority of the statutes to which reference has been made and in pursuance of a definite national policy to increase the birth-rate, aid was given during the year 1922 to 204,311 *familles nombreuses*, of which 138,276 were families in which the parents had the care of the children; in 60,352 families the mother had the care of the children, in 5,203 cases the father had the care, and in 480 the parents were evidently separated and still were aided to maintain their children. For this service 27,169,800 francs were expended. Of this, 14,836,800 francs came from the central treasury (42,200 francs was the sum necessary for families without settlement), 6,949,100 francs from the communes, 5,341,500 francs from the departments, and the rest from miscellaneous sources.

It would be a serious omission to fail to mention here that form of social service endeavor which seems in some ways to be the highest and to contain the greatest possibilities for the future: the mutual benefit or co-operative form.

All sorts of *mutualités* flourish in France, from the *Mutualités Maternelles*, which, in return for a trifling monthly subscription, supply help and medical attention to poor mothers at the time of their greatest need, to old-age pension and sick-benefit societies of all kinds. The establishment of these societies has been favored by protective legislation,<sup>3</sup> and indeed they have assumed—as shown by the figures—a large part of the burden which would otherwise fall upon the state.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 56, 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 58-61.

<sup>3</sup> An Act of April 1, 1898, replaced earlier acts. This in turn has been modified by acts of March 31, 1903; July 2, 1904; April 13 and December 5, 1908; April 8, 1910; March 21, 1913; February 6 and April 1, 1914; November 19, 1915; January 4, 1922; and August 15, 1923.



The "co-operatives" usually have an industrial character, furnishing supplies or credits for various purposes. A kindred development, which partakes also of a public health nature and was initiated by certain clear-sighted people to whom the need was obvious, is found in the Sociétés d'Habitations à Bon Marché, societies which supply cheap and good lodgings to workers and their families. It is a pleasure to visit one of the *cités-jardins* built by these societies, often on the outskirts of Paris, where there is plenty of air and sunshine and where the building, or group of buildings, is usually surrounded by gardens. Here each family—only those with at least three children are admitted—has, for a minimum rent, a clean airy apartment (or sometimes a little house) appropriate to its size and supplied with the necessary conveniences, and often each family has its little plot of ground, for growing vegetables and flowers. Bath-tubs are absent, but a large co-operative bathing establishment is run in connection with the dwellings, and here a mother may take her brood into rooms supplied for her convenience with big tubs, little tubs, and middle-sized tubs and wash up the family in short order. Here also are hot and cold shower-baths, popular with the workman. Although the workers may not have acquired the habit of the daily tub, on Saturday afternoons at least the establishment seems fairly to hum with activity and resounds with the happy splashings of the workers in holiday mood. A *jardin d'enfants*, or kindergarten, is a usual feature of the *cités-jardins*.

A different kind of co-operative endeavor is illustrated by the *caisses de compensation*,<sup>1</sup> which have had a rapid rise since the war. A number of heads of industries, aware that those workmen who were the fathers of large families could not live on small salaries, banded themselves together and established a common fund, or *caisse de compensation*. Out of this fund a premium is paid to the wives of employees at the birth of each child, together with a regular monthly allowance for its support. Whatever criticism may be directed at the economic theory at the base of this arrangement, it is certain that the *caisses de compensation* have assumed large proportions and are con-

<sup>1</sup> For example, see chapter iv of *Paris charitable, bienfaisant, et social* (1926), pp. 188 ff. These are the two agencies for paying the so-called "family allowance" grants. See Eleanor F. Rathbone, *The Disinherited Family*, and Paul H. Douglas, *Wages and the Family*.



sidered to be doing a patriotic service by encouraging the birth of children.

In a general summary of this kind the private organizations will necessarily be slighted. They are too numerous, and the work done is too varied, for more than a passing mention at this time. It is an obvious truth that all pioneer movements, such as, at present, the schools for training social workers, are due to private initiative. Another observation which suggests itself is that organizations begun by private enterprise will sometimes partake of a sectarian, or a co-operative, nature, or of both. An interesting illustration of this is found in the *Oeuvres du Moulin Vert* in Paris.<sup>1</sup> This group of organizations, under the presiding genius of the Abbé Jean Viollet, a man of broad views and outstanding personality, carries on much of its work in a thoroughly non-sectarian manner. Imbued with the idea that the family is the starting- and finishing-point of all social reform and that the family's first need is a good home, the Abbé began by establishing a society to build good and cheap lodgings for working families. The families were then brought together in a co-operative organization called the *Confédération Générale des Familles*, which holds meetings at regular intervals at which matters are discussed and decisions of mutual interest are taken. This confederation includes families of all religious and political affiliations and seems to run its affairs efficiently. It aims to help those of its members who are in difficulties to re-establish themselves, and carries on various kinds of activities. In contrast to this, and entirely separate, though also under the aegis of the *Moulin Vert*, is the *Association du Mariage Chrétien*, which aims, by religious and educative propaganda, to prepare young people—particularly young Catholics—for their future duties as parents and householders.

Although this outline may give a general notion of the main lines of division of French work, it can give no idea whatever of the manner in which these divisions merge, so to speak; that is, of the way the various types of organizations interlock and co-operate with one another. Although aware of certain fundamental antagonisms,

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, *L'Assistance éducative*, *Organ Mensuel des Intérêts de la Charité Privée*. Each month, for example, a number of summaries are published of the records of *familles nombreuses*, with appeal for aid in their behalf. See this *Review*, June, 1927, p. 317, for translations of some of these appeals.

handed down by centuries of tradition, the observer cannot fail to see the sometimes quite intimate way in which agencies and foundations of various types supplement one another's work. Especially do the social workers, more and more intelligently aware of needs and of resources, tend to bring about the co-ordination of effort. In their desire to solve the problems confronting them they seek out and marshal all the forces—public, private, co-operative—which can furnish the material and spiritual help needed. They are the *liaison* officers of an army of reconstruction, but even more in France than in America they are pioneers, and obliged, therefore, to exert their utmost ingenuity and skill. The foundation, however, of their work lies in their knowledge of the social legislation of their country and of the functioning of the Assistance Publique.<sup>1</sup>

This brief and somewhat arid glimpse of the general structure of the Assistance Publique takes no account of that factor which is, after all, everywhere and always, the most important: the human element. Only by living in France, by coming in contact with workers and conditions, can one realize how important the personal element is in all the relations of life. Frenchmen generally when rightly approached are more easily moved by sympathy for the unfortunate than is the average Anglo-Saxon. It is essential to gain the confidence of those officials with whom one works. This accomplished, their whole-hearted co-operation as well as their unfailing courtesy can be always counted on.

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<sup>1</sup> H. Derouin and A. Gory, *Traité théorique et pratique d'assistance publique* (1914). 2 vols. Many bulletins are issued both from the ministry and by the *préfets* in the departments. See, for example, those got out by the Department de Loir et Cher on many subjects connected with the Assistance.

## THE GANG PHENOMENON

TWO RECENT books<sup>1</sup> among an ever growing number of like contributions are important as illustrative of two departures from rather well-marked tendencies in social work and research, and of one innovation. We may designate the tendencies as, first, overpreoccupation with the individual client and underpreoccupation with general principles; second, overemphasis of the instrument or technique and underemphasis of the thing or person with which the instrument or technique is designed to work. The innovation consists of a conscious and laudable attempt on the part of a number of social investigators to clarify our fundamental concepts in the field of sociology.

It must be accepted as a fair criticism of social work that, while it has met the immediate needs of underprivileged humanity with continuous improvement in its methods, it has added but little to the store of human knowledge. This should be readily apparent to anyone who compares the quality and quantity of social workers' activities as a whole with that portion thereof which can rightfully be denominated as scientific research, evaluation of findings, and discovery of more or less permanent principles. Perhaps the nature of the activities of the social worker is such that it is unwise to mix the active art and pressing demands of daily work with the poverty-stricken, defective, and delinquent classes with the more patient, "long-time-point-of-view" and contemplative activity of the research worker. Perhaps the qualifications of mind and temperament required in these two types of enterprise are so different that social work has rarely attracted persons qualified for constructive effort in the field of social research, and vice versa. Perhaps, finally, the reason why comparatively few of the fertile fields of social work have yielded more lasting fruits than those of even "constructive relief

<sup>1</sup> Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927. Pp. xxi+571. \$3.

Paul Hanly Furfey, *The Gang Age: A Study of the Pre-adolescent Boy and His Recreational Needs*. New York: Macmillan, 1926. Pp. xii+189. \$2.

work" may be found in the point of view of contributors to the chests of social agencies, whose interest has been largely limited to coping with the crying needs, the immediate problems of disease, poverty, and other evils, and has not ordinarily embraced the more distant goal of forcing the experience of social workers to yield up its crop of fact and principle. But whatever the cause, and however conditions may be changing in recent years, social agencies have on the whole been so busy with individual clients that they have quite generally neglected the rationale of clienthood.

The principle of economy would require, as far as is practicable, the extension into the future of the benefits expected to flow from social work; the rendering of these benefits as lasting as possible. In the purchase of the values of social work, as of other values of life, it would seem sound social policy that the contributions to the chests of social welfare agencies should more and more be expended for "producers' goods" rather than "consumers' goods"; since the purchase of the former means in the course of their use the possibility of further productivity, whereas the use of consumers' goods, while resulting in immediate benefits, makes the goods themselves vanish into thin air. "Producers' goods," in the field of social work, is research and the discovery of improved methods of work. The principles resulting from research can be put to ever broader uses, and the funds thus expended continue to produce values in ever widening circles.

That it is possible for one and the same institution to render good daily "service" and at the same time to translate these bits of transient experience into scientific contributions of more permanent and more universal utility is illustrated by the activity of such agencies as the Judge Baker Foundation of Boston and the Institute for Juvenile Research in Chicago. But even before such institutions began their researches, individual social workers made contributions of the first order, these being largely based on their individual experience. One thinks in this connection of Jane Addams and Miss Richmond, among a number of others. But the number is all too small, and in these days of huge foundations and elaborate "projects," individual contributions to the literature of social work must be encouraged and welcomed.

It is for this reason that the two recent works discussed herein are

important. But they are important for another reason, which brings us to the second tendency mentioned above.

The historian of social work must set down as a characteristic of the last few decades, not only the concern of workers with the immediate, daily job to the almost entire neglect of more permanent values, but a tendency that might be characterized as the overemphasis of the instrument and the underemphasis of the thing or persons instrumented. We may mention two fields in which this tendency (though it seems to be getting less marked in recent years) is evident, namely, statistics and intelligence testing. Such a work as Goring's famous *English Convict*,<sup>1</sup> for example, while purporting to be a treatise on criminology, is really a good reference text on mathematical statistics. Nobody can gainsay the tremendous value of the statistical method in the study of social problems, but one must not forget that after all it is only a method, and but one method. No amount of mathematico-statistical refinement in the world, not even Goring's formidable use of Pearsonian formulas, can compensate for poor work in gathering the raw material with which the statistical technique has to deal. Nor is all the heavy artillery of mathematical statistics always needed to establish a simple point, even where the technique of statistics must be employed.

The second field in which the instrument is sometimes made more of than that with which it deals is intelligence testing. There are psychologists who purpose to measure the mind as precisely as the groceryman weighs a pound of sugar. Who has not seen an "I.Q." carried out to a minute fraction of a point? One wonders what such psychologists would do if suddenly deprived of their box of puzzles. To take the boy whom they are examining to a baseball game or a thrilling "movie" for the purpose of getting some light on the human being with whom they have to deal would probably not occur to them, since being without the facilities for "scientific control," the reactions of their boy would not be "scientific."

The two books described herein are to be commended for having escaped this tendency of confusion of the means and the end.

In the light of the foregoing, we turn to a discussion of these volumes, leaving the last item previously mentioned, the attempt of

<sup>1</sup> London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1913.

social investigators to clarify the concepts in the field of social theory and practice, for consideration below.

Possessing similar titles, the two volumes none the less differ appreciably in method and content. Thrasher's work may be said to present the body of this fascinating subject; Furfey gives us a glimpse of its soul. Thrasher's book is the product of long, painstaking field work, animated by an evident talent for making friendships with young people; Furfey's contribution is the product of this plus reflection. Thrasher's book is a good example of the growing technique of the scientific social investigator; Furfey's is the document of a psychologist with native as well as technical equipment for his profession. The two works may be said in a way to complement each other, certainly from the point of view of psychology; for while Thrasher remains on a rather rigorous mechanistic-behavioristic plane, Furfey digs deeply into the purposive-dynamic aspects of the problem, while yet not ignoring its outward-conduct phase. The result is that although Thrasher's book is replete with "human interest," photographic, and biographic materials, it is not so thought-provoking as Furfey's little volume. Furfey's contribution is based ostensibly upon only 119 cases (members of "an experimental Boy Scout troop and a pack of Wolf Cubs," specially organized for answering the question, "How can modern social and psychological methods aid the recreational leader who deals with boys of the gang age?"). Thrasher's book boasts of the supporting data of not less than 1,313 gangs and the thousands of individuals who comprise them. Yet both volumes throw most light on the problems discussed when analyzing individual cases rather than when resorting to statistical treatment; both deal with men more than with numbers, and both use statistical technique with commendable discrimination.

Space limitations make it difficult to do critical justice to these contributions. Thrasher's book makes much of the background and setting of the gang, while Furfey's stresses the psychological life of individuals within the gang. An exhaustive and painstaking study of the gang's habitat leads Thrasher to the conclusion that "gangland represents a geographically and socially interstitial area in the city," an important and interesting opinion that is so amply supported by facts as to be accepted, at least with reference to the city where the

study was made, as a sociological conclusion of the most vital concern, suggesting, as it does, necessary steps to be taken to eliminate or neutralize the culture medium wherein gangs breed. But the word "interstitial" may be regarded as the keynote of Thrasher's study in a psycho-biological sense as well; for not only (so runs his thesis) is the gang interstitial in that it is to be found largely in the "borderlands and boundary lines between residential and manufacturing or business areas, between immigrant or racial colonies, between city and country or city and suburb, and between contiguous towns . . . the intramural frontier," but it is interstitial in that "the adolescent age is definitely correlated with gang phenomena," and "is a time of physical and social development—an interstitial period between childhood and maturity." Moreover the gang is interstitial in that it is squeezed between two biological stages which are themselves safeguarded by absorption into conventional groups, while the age of gang life, at least in the case of "the adolescent of the underprivileged classes," is not effectively provided for by conventional agencies, this fact stimulating the frequently antisocial association into gangs. The remainder of Professor Thrasher's carefully constructed definition of the gang, with the exception of the fact (amply supported by illustrations in the text) that the gang group is "originally formed spontaneously, and then integrated through conflict," raises a number of questions and doubts that call for further elucidation by workers in this relatively new sociological field. Herein we can do little more than mention them. Professor Thrasher has set down with the labored care of a laboratory scientist, an exposition of the gang's social behavior: "Meeting face to face, milling, movement through space as a unit, conflict, and planning." Not only does he thoroughly document each of the items listed with reports of his observations of the behavior of various gangs, but he furnishes, in support of his definition, an ingenious diagram; analyzing the various types of behavior (p. 56). But the terminology he employs smacks too much of the jargon of some mysterious, allegedly proven discipline. "Meeting face to face," indeed. What, one may ask without appearing too facetious, is the alternative, meeting back to back? How else can people meet? And how else can the gang move (even as a unit) except "through space"? The term "milling," though sug-



gestive, also needs more elucidation, if it is to form part of a carefully worded scientific definition.

Serious students of the social-aspirant-sciences (for one must frankly still deny the status of emancipated sciencehood to much of the agglomeration of fact and hypothesis that bears on social problems) are of course in full accord with the commendable efforts of sociologists to clarify our concepts in this field and to develop a scientific terminology that will constitute the coin of the realm of sociology and social work. But the overrefinement and choice of technical phrase which may be resorted to in the description of social behavior can verge on the absurd. With the remainder of Professor Thrasher's definition, as was said, one can have no quarrel: The action of conflict as a sort of social cement is a well-known phenomenon, and the applicability of conflict and "planning" to the gang is amply demonstrated by Thrasher.

We think also that Thrasher's study does not sufficiently justify the dogmatic statement made in his introduction: "Gangs, like most other social groups, originate under conditions that are typical for all groups of the same species; they develop in definite and predictable ways, in accordance with a form or entelechy that is predetermined by characteristic internal processes and mechanisms" (p. 4). It would have been better for the author to have kept constantly before him the much wiser statement he makes in his preface: "Such formulations as are presented . . . must be regarded as tentative hypotheses rather than as scientific generalizations" (p. xiii). While there is some evidence of predictability presented throughout the book, there certainly has not been made out a case of that definite cause-and-effect relationship which Thrasher's first statement would imply. Indeed, our impression, on reading Thrasher's contribution, was that he made out at least as good a case for individuality and lack of predictability in gang development as he did for cause-and-effect linkage between interstitial milieu and gang life.

Having given the "natural history" of the gang, Professor Thrasher, in the second part of his book, discusses "life in the gang," using as an interpretative device Professor Thomas's very popular "wishes." This part is deftly executed, and indicates how infinitely complex are the relationships, and how tenuous the partitions, be-

tween conduct that is regarded only as more or less harmful play, and that which the law has dubbed criminal. (Whence, then, the temerity to speak with such assurance of "predictability"?) But Thrasher's compelling evidence of the thin partitions between social and antisocial group conduct must be added to the evidence deposited by Healy, Bernard Glueck, Adler, and others, and be dealt with in the building up of the prolegomena of the criminal law and procedure of tomorrow.

A penetrating exposé of the internal organization and the forms of leadership in the gang is found in Part III. It is extremely suggestive for certain problems on the borderland between psychology and the science of government, such as the influence of "leaders" possessing very divergent types of talent which appeal to the rank and file, the origins of democracy within groups of various kinds, etc.—an important field of inquiry in which but little research has been done.

A critical discussion of "the gang problem" follows in Part IV. The view of the intimate relationship of relatively innocuous forms of conduct to those legally declared antisocial is carried further in chapter xx, which opens with the significant statement that cannot be sufficiently repeated, that

To think of the bulk of Chicago's (or any other city's) crime as the result of the activities of hardened criminals or adult gangs would be erroneous. There is no hard and fast dividing line between predatory gangs of boys and criminal groups of younger and older adults. They merge into each other by imperceptible gradations, and the latter have their real explanation, for the most part, in the former.

The author goes on to discuss the importance of following crime "to its roots and beginnings in the boys' gang." Citing Healy to the effect that "most frequently the career of the confirmed criminal begins during adolescence," that the "chief cause lies in the formative conditions of this epoch," and that "during this period the most important needs are for social adjustment," Thrasher points out that "the gang is probably the most important single factor—in that section of the boy population [of Chicago] from which the majority of delinquents come—in determining how these needs for adolescent social adjustment shall be met." The "practical program to redi-

rect their energies into more wholesome channels," to which he devotes his concluding chapter, is founded on the disquieting finding that "approximately one-tenth of Chicago's 350,000 boys between the ages of ten and twenty are subject to the demoralizing influence of gangs." This chapter, though brief, is the most thought-provoking. Together with Dr. Miriam Van Waters' excellent contribution along similar lines (the closing chapters of *Youth in Conflict*), it suggests a number of practicable measures for stoppage at the source or redirection of those activities and attitudes which may develop into criminal conduct.

Emphasizing the value of recreational outlets in this important work of understanding, redirecting, and sublimating the energies of youth, Furfey's little volume also contains what may be regarded as a program for the healthy development of youth. Much wisdom, amply supported by the long experience of social workers, judges, and prison administrators is reflected in Furfey's statement: "The study of childhood is the key to the future. Vast social problems which will not yield to the efforts of reformers nor to the enactments of legislators can be cured by turning our attention to the coming generation and starting them on the road of life aright" (pp. 156-57). To these sentiments we may add the query whether too much weight and attention are not being given, in our public budgets and legislation, to hardened adults, to the detriment of more plastic and hope-inspiring youth. Is it not a shortsighted social economy that spends so much energy and money on prisons and relatively so little on playgrounds, child-guidance clinics, and community organization?

Space prohibits more than a cursory review of several other features of Furfey's book. The second chapter, which deals with the elements of conduct, is as clear and sane an exposition of this vexing problem as we have seen in any of the recent standard psychologies or psychiatries. With all that appears in Furfey's schema, of which the point of departure is "behavior," which is in turn divided into the principal categories of "environmental factors" and "subjective factors," we are not in absolute accord. But we must express our admiration of a psychologist who devotes much space to the subject of mental tests, and at the same time recognizes their true place in a general collection of instruments for evaluation of the personality, in-

stead of making them the twentieth-century magic wand to all wisdom, as "phrenology" and like abracadabra disciplines were in the nineteenth.

Equally sane is Furfey's treatment of the subject of unconscious mechanisms, under the title "The Unseen Side of Mental Life," and his discussion of "instincts." As reflecting upon their respective grasp of the status of psychology, we may compare the statements of Thrasher and Furfey upon this much-mooted point. Says Thrasher, with a dogmatism that is damaging to further progress: "Theoretical psychology no longer supports instincts as the basis of human behavior" (p. 43). Witness, on the other hand, the calm discrimination that characterizes Furfey in this respect: "The subject of instincts is being hotly debated now. The standard presentation of the case for instincts is given by McDougall [giving the citation to his principal works]. See also a discussion by this same author [citation]. The opposite side has never been presented better than by Allport [citation] and Watson [citation]. For a good summary of the present state of the controversy, see Tolman [citation]" (Note, p. 31). It strikes us that at the present stage of the discussion of this basic psychological question it behooves one either to present both sides of the argument or, if he takes sides (as Furfey does in favor of the instinct theory), to present a fair statement of the existence of the controversy together with the basic arguments or references to the outstanding literature on both sides. It is certainly stretching a point to say that "theoretical psychology no longer supports instincts," etc., without further comment. Certainly all existing psychological theory does not emanate from the pen of mechanistic behaviorists!

After his pithy presentation of the "elements of conduct," Furfey goes on to apply these elements to the life of the adolescent and pre-adolescent, discussing their "plan of life," the light shed by modern intelligence-testing technique and other methods upon our understanding of behavior, its motivations as well as its conditionings, and the rôle of such institutions as the home, school, gang, etc., in helping to shape the attitudes and behavior of youth. A suggestive and interesting chapter on especially gifted children is also contributed.

Throughout, Furfey discloses a gift for "getting under the skin"

of young people that frequently enables him to give the reader flashes of insight which a technical equipment in psychology alone could not give. (How often have we seen accomplished technicians and theorists in the field of psychology who have woefully lacked in the power of practical management of the psychological problems of everyday life!)

We wish that it were possible to go more thoroughly into these two contributions. In addition to their value from the points of view before mentioned, they are important in that they illustrate the possibility and the value of studying the psychology of man in man's ordinary habitats. One need not necessarily abandon the painstaking care of scientific method in stepping from the artificial stage setting of the psychological laboratory to the market place and the forum. In the final analysis, only by taking his methods, his scientific honesty, and his profound patience into the highways and homes of men can the social psychologist give us significant data on the intricacies of human nature. He cannot take life into his laboratories and bid it perform naturally or stand still whilst he makes his measurements and notes his observations. The methods used in the investigations upon which these books are based are still crude; but they are beginnings toward a scientific technique which presumes not only to "be mindful" of man, but to understand and explain him.

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## WILLS AND BEQUESTS IN RELATION TO CHILD WELFARE

THE SUBJECT of this paper naturally brings to mind two ideas: one of adaptation of bequests,<sup>1</sup> and the other of modern needs in the child welfare field. It is necessary to inquire how far one may adapt a bequest and what are the differences between modern and former needs of children. It is also necessary to consider under the head of adaptation such matters as "the dead hand"<sup>2</sup> and judicial machinery by which bequests are adapted to new needs. Under the head of child-welfare needs we may contrast older systems of caring for children with those which we have adopted or toward which we are working today.

What we call social work has been well recognized by the church from its beginning.<sup>3</sup> The moral and religious duty of regard for the poor appears in the Old Testament and in the New. It is not surprising then that, when Christianity became the state religion, concern should be felt over property or money left by will or gift for charitable purposes. In fact, the church regarded such property as the patrimony of the poor. The emphasis was placed upon performing a task for the soul of the giver. That was the purpose of the gift at a time when a scientific approach to the problems of the poor was many centuries in the future.

The significant fact in the whole situation, however, is that the problem only began when the gift was made. Immediately there was a responsibility to discharge. The gift must be carried out.<sup>4</sup> Care must be taken to see that no one used the money improperly, and to some extent there was an intelligent interest in the recipients.

<sup>1</sup> For the law governing the adaptation of bequests, see the article on "Charities" in *Ruling Case Law*, V, 287-379; *American and English Encyclopedia of Law* (2d ed.), V, 894-942; *Cyclopedia of Law and Procedure*, VI, 897-977; Zollmann, *American Law of Charities*, chap. iii, pp. 71-119.

<sup>2</sup> See Hobhouse, *The Dead Hand* (1880); Kenny, *Endowed Charities* (1880).

<sup>3</sup> For the influence of the Christian religion on charity, see Loch, *Charity and Social Life* (1910), pp. 168 ff.

<sup>4</sup> For the administration and enforcement of charitable trusts, see *Ruling Case Law*, V, 357-64.

Some of the provisions are of interest as indicating how similar are the problems in all such funds at all times. The bequests under the Roman law went usually to the bishop. In the event that the person leaving the money made a provision in his will for the appointment of trustees, the bishop was required "to have a watchful eye over them, to praise them when they fulfilled their duty, to chide and remove those who are negligent, and, in such case, to appoint other trustees who had the true fear of God in their hearts and the final day of judgment in their eye."<sup>1</sup>

The bishops were not the final authority, however. Leo, in giving directions for the application of funds set apart for the redemption of captives, required that the bishop should make known to the governor of the province by a written statement the time when the funds were received and the amount paid. After the lapse of a year he was required to state in the same manner the number of captives redeemed and the amount paid for them, so that it might be certain that the pious intentions of the testator were carried into effect.

Apparently even this machinery was not complete protection from the danger of improper use of the funds. Three difficulties arose.<sup>2</sup> In the first place, testators came to seek the welfare of their own souls to such an extent that conscientious bishops returned bequests to the next of kin, stating that though they were valid by human law they were void by divine law.

The second difficulty was the tendency of the trustees to neglect their duties. The Justinian Code provided that every citizen, without distinction, was empowered to make judicial complaint that the charitable intention of the testator was not being fulfilled. This was done because in the eye of the law the public welfare was thereby affected.

The third difficulty was the tendency of the times to change so that the will of the testator could not be carried out in the manner he had determined. The courts were faced with the difficulty of deciding whether or not to insist that the spirit of the will be carried out even though such action required a change in some of the administrative detail.

<sup>1</sup> "The Jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery to Enforce Charitable Uses," *American Law Register* (N.S.), I (1861-62), 136.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*



With the first of these difficulties we compare our modern rule that while a court will favor the idea of leaving money to charity and will construe a will in such a way as to sustain a charity if possible, yet it reserves the right to exercise its discretion and to strike down a bequest which is contrary to public policy. Our legislatures also have in various ways limited the right to make wills for charity, as by provision that not more than a certain amount of the estate may be left to charity, that a will leaving money to charity must be executed at least thirty days before death, and similar provisions designed to protect testators and their families from undue liberality and influence.<sup>1</sup>

With the second of these three difficulties, the necessity of keeping a watch upon the administration of the fund to see that it is doing what it should do, we compare the modern idea of requiring an accounting every two or three years from the trustees, with the right on the part of the attorney-general to appear on behalf of the public to raise questions as to the administration. But we also find in this situation the germ of the idea that a fund for charity is a public matter. The public is interested and should be allowed an opportunity to be heard in court. Today, where most property is called upon to bear a proportionate share of the burden of sustaining the government by taxation, charitable trust property pays no taxes. This is on the theory that by caring for the poor it is actually carrying a part of the public burden. But it becomes important to inquire, in the case of some charitable funds, whether they are actually bearing their fair share of the burden of taxation.

With the third difficulty, the problem of changing the administration to keep pace with the times, we compare the modern "cy-pres doctrine."<sup>2</sup> The rule of law is substantially the same today as it was in the Roman law, and may be stated as follows: If a gift to a

<sup>1</sup> For limitations on the right to make wills, see article on "Wills" in *A. & E. Encycl. of L.* (2d ed.), XXX, 547-818, and in *Ruling Case Law*, XXVIII, 47-410; also see *Limitations Imposed by Law upon Testamentary Bequests in France, Germany, Italy, Russia, and the United States* (1908; British State Papers, Cd. 4251).

<sup>2</sup> The words "cy-pres" come from the Norman French. The cy-pres doctrine is discussed in great detail in the articles on "Charities" in *Ruling Case Law*, V, 364-70; in *A. & E. Encycl. of L.* (2d ed.), V, 936-42; in *Cyclopedia of Law and Procedure*, VI, 961-65; in Tyssen, *Law of Charitable Bequests* (1888), pp. 181-208; and in Zollmann, *American Law of Charities*, chap. iii.

charitable use could not be carried into effect in the manner in which the testator provided, his main desire must be observed and the property must be devoted to a charitable use in some other and related form.

We next consider the progress of the administration of charity itself, from its beginnings, largely in the church, to its present position in which church, state, and voluntary associations all contribute to its advance. The development by way of England is most suitable for our purpose, because both the law and the customs came directly to us from that country. Beginning about 1500 we note two trends. The first of these was the assumption, by the courts of chancery, of control over charitable trust estates.<sup>1</sup> This may seem an unimportant statement, but it really means that the courts of the state were taking charge of charitable matters, and these were no longer exclusively under the jurisdiction of the church or the ecclesiastical courts.

The second trend relates to the manner of caring for the poor persons who received these charitable gifts. As early as the year 1414 a statute<sup>2</sup> recited that "hospitals had been founded by the king, lords, and ladies, as by others of divers estates, to the honor of God, in aid and merit of the souls of the founders, who have given a great part of their movable goods for the building of the same, and a great part of their lands to sustain impotent men, lazars, men out of their wits, poor women with child, and to nourish, relieve or refresh other poor people. These institutions had decayed and the funds had been withdrawn by divers persons to other uses. It was provided that, as to the foundations of the king, the ordinaries by commission should inquire and certify their inquisitions into chancery; and as to other hospitals which are of another foundation and patronage than of the king, the ordinary shall not only inquire of the manner of foundation, estate, and governance of the same, but also correct and reform them."<sup>3</sup> This attempt on the part of the law to deal with social problems is also significant as marking a sense of responsibility on the part of the state.

<sup>1</sup> Tyssen, *Charitable Endowments*, pp. 1-8; *A. & E. Encycl. of L.* (2d ed.), V, 897-902.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Hen. V, c.1.

<sup>3</sup> See *American Law Register* (N.S.), I (1861-62), 331.

In the first half of the next century the suppression of the religious houses by Henry VIII created some interesting social problems one of which was the security of endowments for charitable purposes.<sup>1</sup> The charity of the first half of the sixteenth century was largely indiscriminate and in the form of doles many of which did more harm than good.

Before the close of the century, however, a new factor entered in. Whereas previously the incentive to contribute to charitable purposes was largely for the sake of the giver's soul, now money for the relief of the poor was raised through taxation, the state, for its own safety, requiring not gifts but taxes to care for the destitute.

The Elizabethan system, thus begun, took root and flourished. Under the philosophy that abnormal persons were to be cared for but put out of the way, church funds, private donations, and public taxes combined to erect barracks for housing the unfortunates. Thus we have a new era in social work, which continued with little material change to about seventy-five years ago.

The poor-relief system in this country, down to the end of the Civil War, was not materially different from that established in England in the time of Queen Elizabeth. And the philosophy of segregation continued.

About seventy-five years ago we began to enter a new phase of social work, in which the philosophy, and therefore the methods of administration, are quite new. In 1850 there were no such laws as those providing for an eight-hour day, for tenement-house inspection, for sanitation, for public playgrounds. The juvenile court, the state public welfare department, the psychiatric clinic, the mothers' assistance fund were all unknown. Even the workmen's compensation laws were not on the books, and men did not take out insurance to protect their children, as we do today. The child of seventy-five years ago lived in a different world from that of today. And yet the social and economic changes that have come about today are no greater than those that attended the upheaval in England from 1500 to 1600. Just as the people in that day found it necessary to grapple with a new set of problems, so we today must meet them face to face.

The most important factor today is the presence in our midst of

<sup>1</sup> Clay, *The Medieval Hospitals of England*, chap. xvi, pp. 226-44.

a new philosophy. It has been developed by the social workers, educators, clergymen, labor leaders, physicians, and statesmen who understand that prosperity rests primarily upon human welfare. Its distinguishing characteristic is its insistence on doing that which will either prevent the unfortunate person from falling below the normal group, or set him back in the group if he has fallen. We know now to a large extent what a child needs in order to insure that he will grow up a good citizen. These experts tell us in detail that much of our older machinery and the philosophy on which it was based must be replaced by new. For instance, the old barracks to which the children of a century ago were sent, and which were called orphan asylums, are being rapidly replaced by a home in which the child grows up normally.<sup>1</sup> Family life is being preserved. Wages are higher. The aged are being supported in the family. There is a new program of public and private health. Better housing and other factors have contributed to the development, perfection, and preservation of family life. Civilization is recognizing that it cannot afford to destroy the home. This change requires new machinery. The machinery requires money to put it into operation. This money must come, as in the past, from public taxation or from private groups. The state is now straining every nerve to raise the funds for its expenses, and its budgets are mounting rapidly, but it is still necessary to seek funds from private sources, and the charitable trust fund which some generous giver of former years has by will or deed placed at the service of the community remains a source to which we may properly look. Let us stop to examine some of the legal provisions dealing with such trust funds.

One of the most important generalizations of the law during the past hundred and fifty years has been that a man may do as he wishes with his own. This is based on the theory that the highest duty of government is to create the greatest freedom for the individual, and that reasonable individualism as a philosophy bespeaks the happiest state for mankind.

We apply this principle to all forms of property, but particularly in the past it has been connected with the making of wills. By some

<sup>1</sup> See *Standards of Child Welfare: A Report of the Children's Bureau Conferences, May and June, 1919*, U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 60 (Washington, 1919).

persons it has been regarded as essential that the literal statement by a testator of his desires should be the guiding principle for the administration of his affairs, and that it was binding upon everybody thereafter forever and ever.

In modern social work there has been much difficulty with this rigid principle. Outworn wills, or outworn provisions of wills, have stubbornly refused to yield in the interests of better social methods. So we find cases in the law such as that of *Attorney-General vs. Mansfield*,<sup>1</sup> where the funds established by the will prescribed that a school should be a free grammar school teaching the classics. In later years the more daring minds among those interested in the school conceived the idea that the traditional Latin and Greek which formed the basis of instruction might be added to by giving the students courses in such dangerous subjects as arithmetic, modern languages, and physical science. The court interpreted the will as meaning that there should be no use of the fund beyond the teaching of Latin and Greek, because the testator had left the money that way. In other words, when the clash came between the interests of the children and the provisions of the will, the court said the will must prevail.

Today we are taking issue with this position. In the United States we have accepted the doctrine that the administration of charitable funds must depend on something other than a rigid adherence to outgrown ideas. We argue that, when the conflict is between living children and the dead hand, morally there is only one answer. The welfare of the children must prevail.

The right of a man to do as he wishes with his own is not nearly so broad as the generalized statement would appear. Without going into the question as to the remedies established to limit wills in general, we should note the peculiar characteristics of property left by will in trust for charity.

The law encourages such bequests. It makes a reasonable effort to construe bequests of money as bequests for charity. It sees no objection to giving money to charity rather than to the relatives of the deceased. At the same time it provides a means for controlling the administration of such property in the interests of the public. The machinery is that of a trustee who handles the money for the

<sup>1</sup> 2 Russ. 501 (1827).

benefit of a group of people known as beneficiaries. The beneficiaries have certain rights which may be asserted in court. The public has certain rights which may be asserted in court, and the trustee is at all times subject to the supervision of the court.

In the past almost all attention to trustees has been devoted to considering whether or not they were good business men. It has been regarded as their main duty to see to it that the trust fund was not diminished in any way, and that, if possible, it should be increased.

The modern emphasis on trust funds is not to abate the importance of financial supervision, but to add to that an intelligent and constructive supervision over the welfare of the beneficiaries. General benevolence, a century ago, was regarded as suitable and all that was necessary in a trustee. Today social work has so developed that not only general benevolence to a high degree, but scientific accuracy and professional expertness, are absolutely essential to the care of a child or a large group of children. We are at last coming to realize the enormous influence upon the life of a child which is exerted by the care given to the child. No matter how good-hearted the trustee may be, he falls short of his duty if he does not possess other qualifications than honesty and business shrewdness.

There are three devices under which we may now escape from the rigidity of a charitable bequest. The first of these is the community trust, the second is the cy-pres doctrine, and the third is the education by lawyers and social workers of those who are about to make wills or who are administering charitable funds.

The community trust is based on the theory that many people do not leave money to specific charities, because they have but little to give, because they distrust social agencies, or are out of sympathy with particular agencies. They are urged, however, to contribute toward a general trust fund, the income from which is to be used to meet the changing needs of the community. One of the best features of the community trust is the fact that the use of the trust fund is not limited by rigid restrictions, but is left to the discretion of a group of trustees. In the future the community trusts should carefully watch themselves to see, first, that their board of trustees is equipped with a staff of individuals perhaps recruited from groups engaged in public welfare work, but at all events trained from experience, so that



the community program will be well rounded at those parts of the battle lines where the pressure is greatest.

Community trusts have distinct limitations. Most people want to leave their money in a personal way. Some of these trusts have not been better visioned than private agencies. With reference to our subject, they are unable to compel people to draw wills in their favor, and they have no facilities for adjusting conditions under other wills. We should never forget that conditions are constantly changing. The testator who draws a will has certain conditions in view and seeks to meet those conditions, but every day following the day of his death the actual conditions recede from the conditions which were familiar to him. As this recession continues, the remedies or provisions made by him become less and less applicable to the social needs of the time. In this way a rigid will eventually ceases to become useful to the community, and then we have the tragic spectacle of a trust fund established with the most generous and charitable intentions merely hanging in the air and unable to bestow any benefits upon those in need because of rigid limitations. It eventually becomes a useless monument to the short-sightedness of the decedent, thus frustrating his hope that it would be a perpetual proof of his benevolence.

The following illustrations indicate the way in which the courts have approached the problem of making these outgrown bequests of present-day value, of modernizing them and making them play again in the world of today the rôle which the testator undoubtedly would have wished to play were he in a position to make the necessary changes.

1. The courts distinguish between the testator's main intent and the administrative machinery by which he seeks to carry out that intent.<sup>1</sup>

2. Before the Civil War there were bequests establishing trust funds to liberate the slaves. After the slaves were all freed, the courts construed the main intent of the testator as being to benefit the colored race, and allowed the money to be used for the general welfare of the race.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Philadelphia vs. Girard* (1863), 45 Pa. 9.

<sup>2</sup> *Jackson vs. Phillips*, (1867), 96 Mass. 539.

3. A gift to a hose company of a village has, when the village had become a city, been devoted to its protection from fire.<sup>1</sup>

4. In Massachusetts two children's homes<sup>2</sup> have received permission to care for children in their own or in foster homes under supervision such as the mother's assistance funds give. These institutions previously operated the old-fashioned type of congregate institution.

5. In Pennsylvania three children's congregate institutions have secured permission from the courts to make the same change.<sup>3</sup>

Examples of the use of the cy-pres doctrine could be multiplied.<sup>4</sup>

A word should be said as to the method of convincing the court of the desirability of thus molding the detail of a bequest. The process involves several distinct steps. Our first step is to determine just exactly how valuable to the community is the particular bequest. For this purpose we examine the children being supported and the history of the fund. Substantially we make up a social case record as to the achievements of the fund. As a result of this study we determine whether or not the fund in its present form is of social value.

Secondly, we must determine the greatest need in the community for which this particular fund should be used. This depends upon the main purpose of the testator and the needs of the community.

The main purpose of the testator is of vital importance. The court will not allow an arbitrary readjustment of the fund. It requires that the money be expended in the general field of charitable endeavor in which the gift was bestowed.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sherman vs. Richmond Hose Company* (1919), 175 N.Y. Supp. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Gwynne Home 23295 in Equity, Suffolk County, Boston, and Huntingdon Institute, Suffolk, Supreme Judicial Court in Equity, 22622.

<sup>3</sup> Union Temporary Home, C.C.P. No. 3, Philadelphia County, decree recorded in the office for recording of deeds in Philadelphia, March 20, 1889, Charter Book 24, p. 333; Pauline Home C.C.P. No. 2, Philadelphia County, March Term, 1887, No. 248; John Edgar Thomson School, Orphans' Court, Philadelphia County, January Term, 1881, No. 310.

<sup>4</sup> Some of the leading cases are: *Tincher vs. Arnold* (1906), 147 Fed. 665; *Adye vs. Smith* (1876), 26 Am. Rep. 424; *Harrington vs. Pier* (1900), 82 N.W. 345; *Mason v. Bloomington Library Ass'n* (1909), 237 Ill. 442; *Adams Female Academy vs. Adams* (1889), 18 Atl. 777; *Minot vs. Baker* (1888), 147 Mass. 348; *Clayton vs. Hallett* (1902), 70 Pac. 429; *Kelly vs. Nichols* (1892), 25 Atl. 840; *Crerar vs. Williams* (1893), 145 Ill. 625; *Weeks vs. Hobson* (1889), 150 Mass. 377; *Hubbard vs. Worcester Art Museum* (1907), 194 Mass. 280.

<sup>5</sup> *Clayton vs. Hallett* (1902), 70 Pac. 429.

These fields are four in number: eleemosynary, educational, religious, and a miscellaneous group including such matters as gifts for patriotic or artistic purposes. A gift in any field must ordinarily be used in that field, though the administrative machinery may be changed.<sup>1</sup>

A second rule of law will confine us to the particular class of beneficiaries indicated by the testator.<sup>2</sup> If the money is left to children, it must be used for children. If to animals, it must be used for animals.

With this machinery of the law to aid us, we turn to a consideration of modern child-welfare needs. For our purposes there are several kinds of children: children who are normal, physically and mentally; sick children; children who suffer from physical handicaps, such as the crippled, deaf and dumb, blind, and the subnormal and defective children, such as feeble-minded, epileptic, etc. There is still another class of children who present special problems in the matter of behavior or personality, and these sometimes are the responsibility of private groups, and sometimes of the public. Dependency as such affects the greater proportion of all the children that I have named. Orphanage, like dependency, does not alter the foregoing list. Our modern concern is with the child himself and his needs. We are disposed to give him the best within our knowledge.

There is a very general recognition that children, like all human beings, need individual care, and that they best receive it in family life. The state recognizes this fact in the protection which it throws about the worker, insuring him if he is injured; in protecting his rights in the home; in all that it does to develop family life through education, health, recreation, improvement of working conditions; in the pressure which it exerts to keep certain industrial processes out of the home. Where normal children have to leave their own families, owing to death or sickness, the general procedure is to try to offer a substitute in another family, and this we find best expressed in good foster-family homes. The next substitute for good foster-family care is good institutional care, but of course we have stressed the family type of care as being the most important and the type which should generally prevail. For children who are ill we provide certain types

<sup>1</sup> *Curling vs. Curling* (1839), 8 Dana (Ky.) 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

of hospital and convalescent home care, but the whole emphasis is on returning the children in the shortest time possible to their own people or to some family life. Institutional care or education on an institutional basis takes a very highly specialized and necessary form in the care and training of large numbers of children who are physically handicapped, crippled, blind, etc. The ultimate end of all training is to equip them for living in families. Long-time and often permanent institutional care, however, has to be given to the children who are mentally defective or in process of becoming permanently impaired mentally owing to an epileptic condition.

In October, 1927, there was celebrated in Buffalo the fiftieth anniversary of the development of what is known today as family case work in America. The anniversary was in celebration of the founding of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society, which was the first organization of this kind to be started in America, setting in motion a whole new train of thought seeking the preservation of family life. The influence of this movement which began in Buffalo has been one of the most profound and far-reaching social welfare movements in America. Out of the fundamental principles developed by the family societies which have grown out of and multiplied as a result of the beginning in Buffalo we have developed better forms of public relief, and have thrown about our modern development, known as mothers' assistance, those understandings and protections which have made the mothers' assistance movement of such great help in the field of family welfare and child care.

Our need may be made clear by some figures. At the present time in Philadelphia there are fifty-five institutions for the care of dependent children, that is, normal children who are subject to the principle of segregation. These institutions have a capacity of 7,500 children, and each year spend about \$2,800,000 for their care. At the same time agencies giving home care spend \$2,500,000 a year and care for 18,500 children.

The waiting lists for the mothers' assistance fund and Family Society care are examples of the way in which the community approves the home-care plan. We are realizing more and more that all types of child-welfare agencies should strive to develop and protect family life so that children will not have to receive foster care. It is

better to keep good children with good mothers in their own homes rather than to enter upon very costly methods of care under foster-home auspices. Institutional care costs in many places from \$400 to \$1,500 or more a year per child.

At the present time in Philadelphia and the immediate vicinity there is perhaps \$150,000,000 available for the care of children in institutions, while the large majority of the dependent children are going elsewhere for care. Common sense indicates that in the future, if we are going to erect institutions, we should erect them for abnormal children in need of temporary or permanent medical care, and that the bulk of our money should be spent after the fashion of the family societies and mothers' assistance funds. There are plenty of institutions and plenty of money for the present group of normal children.

We should even go farther. If we find that a particular institution is not bearing its fair share of the burden, we should encourage it to revise its method of care so that while maintaining its plant and equipment it would still be doing the greatest possible work for the children. Further, we should see clearly that if the testator had been living today he would probably have been the first to insist that his bounty be used in a practical fashion to do the most good and the best job possible. The details of working it out present a special problem in each case.

On the question as to whether it is worth while thus to mold the details of charitable trusts, the best statement to be made is as to what happens when the details are not thus molded.

Not long ago a gentleman in Pennsylvania left \$350,000, the income from which was to be used for the purpose of hiring a man to stand at the tomb and tell visitors of the glories of the family of the testator. A gentleman in New Jersey left a large sum of money to organize a military band which, on appropriate occasions, that is, on holidays and on the anniversary of the death of the deceased, was to march to the grave and there play appropriate music. Neither testator was otherwise famous.

For the first fifty years after the testator's death there might be some reason for this proceeding. At the end of a hundred years there would be few persons desirous of hearing the showman or the band.

At the end of a thousand years who can say what the conditions would be. At the end of 100,000 years the showman or his representative would be still courteously discussing the glories of the decedent, and the band would still be marching to the grave, although one may wonder what the appropriate music of that day would be like. At the end of 1,000,000 years, when everything else in the world had changed completely, these two bequests would continue. For in each case charity left in this form continues forever, and forever is a long day.

The present-day problem, therefore, is to see that wills are drawn with some regard for the future; and when we find a charitable trust which the times have left stranded high and dry, let us set it afloat. In doing this we should give no less attention to the words, but more to the spirit, for the spirit will give life to a charitable bequest forever.

JOHN S. BRADWAY

PHILADELPHIA

## LABOR AND POOR-LAW REFORM IN ENGLAND

THE poor law in England and Wales is essentially a residual service. It is the final bulwark against starvation when all other means of livelihood have failed. Its fundamental principle, laid down in the famous Act of Elizabeth and still in force after more than three centuries, is the acceptance by the community of the duty to relieve destitution. This statutory duty on the part of the authorities constitutes for the citizen a right of primary importance; so stringent is it that the relieving officers, who are the principal officers of the boards of guardians who administer the poor law, are bound to relieve sudden and urgent destitution; and if they fail to do so after application has been made to them, and the result is the death of the person concerned, they may be tried for manslaughter. Connected with this duty is the requirement that they shall enter and report any application made to them, whether it is refused or granted.

The English poor law is also residual in another sense. For nearly three hundred years it was the most important statutory authority for local social services, and upon its shoulders were placed all kinds of essential duties in relation to health, education, and family responsibilities which the individual was unable, or refused, to carry out. By the end of the nineteenth century its powers were multifarious, and in a large number of cases the poor-law authorities covered similar ground, though in a very different way, to that with which public health and education, pensions and child welfare committees were also dealing. Its duties were as confused as the principles on which they were carried out; and during the last hundred years there had been a constant demand for poor-law reform and a series of royal commissions and government committees, almost as numerous and almost as inoperative as in the mining industry.

The origin of the poor law lies of course in the conditions created by the Reformation. Some method had to be adopted to fill the blank created by the dissolution of the monasteries and to protect



society against the dangers of unrelieved poverty amongst the workers. Hungry people were a danger to the community, and too great a mobility of labor was a threat to wages. From this grew the general conditions in which parish relief for the indigent was made a duty of the local parish authorities, and the laws of settlement were developed, which gave a right to relief only within the parish to which the recipient was attached by birth. Changing conditions of agriculture and especially the inclosure of common lands, which turned the agricultural worker into a landless peasant working for an employer, and the industrial revolution, which established the factory system, completely changed the poor law; and its history during the past one hundred and fifty years has been the battleground of conflicting economic ideas and changes in social conscience.

The Royal Commission of 1834<sup>1</sup> was a culminating point. The landed proprietors, whether farmers or squires, had shown the shortsightedness so common to their mentality and had developed a system under which poor-law relief was used to subsidize the very low wages that they chose to pay. Outdoor relief was definitely used for this purpose; at the same time the destitute children who were in the care of the poor-law authorities were made a source of cheap labor for the rapidly developing factory system. The classic economists of those days fought the system of subsidizing wages as an infringement of the beneficent scheme of free and unfettered competition. They did not fight it as a disastrous measure leading to the perpetuation of a wage rate on which it was impossible to live, but regarded it as a pauperizing influence interfering with the economic law of wages. The pauper was an economic man of the lowest caste. Poor-law relief should always be at a lower rate than that received by the lowest paid independent wage-earner of the area, and application for relief must be made as unpleasant as possible and be surrounded by tests of such a nature as to make the laborer put forward his utmost efforts to do without it.

The new Poor Law of the eighteen thirties<sup>2</sup> was based on these principles. Outdoor relief was to be restricted to the minimum and

<sup>1</sup> The report of this Commission was conveniently reprinted by His Majesty's Stationery Office in 1905 (Cd. 2728).

<sup>2</sup> "An Act for the Amendment and Better Administration of the Laws Relating to the Poor in England and Wales," 4 and 5 Wm. IV, c. 76.

to be surrounded by tests for all able-bodied persons. They were to be offered admission to the workhouse in preference to outdoor relief, and only in the rarest instances to be relieved outside the workhouse. The helpless destitute, such as the aged, the children, and the sick, were less drastically treated; but while the widow with children was regarded as a suitable case for out-relief, the amount granted and the regulations under which it was given partook of the same character as for the able-bodied men. Thus the able-bodied widow was seldom given anything for herself or any child under twelve months, and for older children the amounts were extremely low, based presumably on the low rate of wages which a woman might be expected to earn. At the same time the reformers made improvements in administration and secured far better order in the old mixed workhouse than had existed before, though the conflict between humane ideas and the deterrent principle was never without its effects, and the former never victorious.

The developing social wisdom of the nineteenth century, which saw in poverty an evil to the community which was not to be entirely blamed upon the individual and which needed prevention and cure, struggled against the principles of the deterrent poor law. This had two results: the poor-law guardians began to have preventive duties as well as those connected with relieving destitution, but the former were not an essential part of their work. Public health and education services cut right across the poor-law domain, and the poor-law guardians began to take on duties which were new to the community. In the latter part of the century the broadening of the franchise, the establishment of free compulsory education, and the development of public health authorities providing curative and preventive services for the individual brought about vast changes. The new social services could not be handed over to the poor-law guardians, who had become the best hated of all governmental authorities.

The growth of the industrial system was creating new difficulties for the worker in the problem of unemployment, and these difficulties were generally recognized as not being the fault of the individual but of general conditions he could not control. There was a continuous margin of unemployed, which from time to time was swelled to an enormous extent as the result of recurrent industrial slumps.

The rise of a political labor movement pledged to the abolition of poverty and standing always for the raising of the conditions of life for the poorest had important effects upon the work of the poor-law authorities. Elected as they were on a wide franchise, wider than that of Parliament, since women were included from an earlier date, some of the poorest areas gained large labor representation on the boards of poor-law guardians, and these boards introduced a humanity into the administration which played havoc with the principles of deterrence. This was mainly shown in their treatment of indoor relief and of the aged and the widows on outdoor relief. But with all their efforts little was done with the able-bodied destitute suffering from unemployment, Poplar alone tackling this problem with any sort of success.

A new impulse given to local authorities at the end of the century by the reorganization of county and municipal councils, which were also the public health and education authorities, created further changes. New legislation gave them greater powers to deal with what was actual destitution. Thus the provision of meals for school children in need of food was a new duty placed on the education authorities.<sup>1</sup> Old-age pensions administered by special committees of the councils took many of the aged out of poor-law hands.<sup>2</sup> The treatment of infectious diseases by the public health authorities was followed by duties in regard to tuberculosis. The institution of health visitors to help in stemming the tide of infant mortality was the beginning of a new development in the care of maternity and infancy. The establishment of a central committee of a very mixed kind, including some representation of poor-law authorities, for dealing with the unemployed of London was a further step away from the old system.

The Royal Commission on the poor laws which was appointed in 1907 and reported in 1909<sup>3</sup> had been made necessary by all these changes. The poor law could no longer go on in the old way, and the Commission's duty was to inquire into the whole question of the re-

<sup>1</sup> Education (Provision of Meals) Act (1906), 6 Edward VII, c. 57.

<sup>2</sup> The first of the long series of old-age pension acts passed in the last two decades was the Act of 1908, 8 Edward VII, c. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Cd. 4499.

lief of the poor and the treatment of destitution. The majority report was a mixed document, of which comparatively little notice was taken; the minority report, largely the work of Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, the latter of whom was on the Commission and was one of its four signatories,<sup>1</sup> became the real basis for the battle for poor-law reform. Its slogans were the Prevention of Destitution and the Break-up of the Poor Law. The theory upon which this report was based was that the old deterrent poor law was non-curative and non-scientific, inhumane, and against the social conscience of the times. In place of it the minority report proposed that the duties of the poor-law guardians should be distributed amongst the local authorities dealing with those classes of the community for whom assistance was required. The individual was not to be dealt with because of his destitution, but because of his special need. Thus, destitute children were to be cared for by the education authority which dealt with the needs of children generally; sick persons were to be cared for by the public health authority which dealt with sickness generally. The aged and widowed were to come under pension authorities, and the residual able-bodied destitute were to be dealt with by special committees of the local authorities. The poor-law guardians were to be abolished, and the principle of deterrence to be replaced by that of prevention. Unemployment was to be specially treated as a national social and economic question, the object before the authorities being its prevention by a reorganization of industrial methods aimed at preventing its recurrence and based on the needs for training and development. These proposals fitted in with the demand which the labor party was then making and which has remained fundamental to their unemployed policy, namely, the right to work or maintenance.

It is around the principles of the minority report that the battle has been fought ever since. Later legislation has increased the social services of the community, and no further duties have been placed upon poor-law authorities, but unfortunately no radical change has been made.

<sup>1</sup> The other signatories of the minority report were George Lansbury, later the editor of the *Daily Herald* and well known for his work in Poplar, Rev. H. Russell Wakefield, and Francis Chandler.

During the war another official committee<sup>1</sup> appointed by the reconstruction committee of Mr. Lloyd George made proposals for dealing with poor-law functions which were largely based upon those of the minority report. But except for the creation of new duties for other authorities, the poor law has been left as it was. Every government has promised to deal with it; no government has carried out its promise. At the same time the national health insurance acts, the maternity and child welfare act, the act for widows' pensions, and certain changes in the old age pensions acts, and the establishment of unemployment insurance have materially altered the situation. In the administration of these acts the poor-law authorities have no part, and at the present time, with the exception of money grants to destitute persons falling outside the unemployment insurance acts, and subsidies for those for whom the pension schemes do not supply sufficient to live on, the poor law has nothing to do with the classes that such legislation provides for.

The present government, like its predecessors, promised reform of the poor law, and as a result of its inquiries put forward proposals this year which they desired to have discussed before legislation was introduced. These proposals stated their intentions. Though there are certain very definite defects, they follow in the main the principles of the Reconstruction Committee, and labor's criticism of them cannot be fully understood without some idea of the changes wrought by post-war conditions. Since the report of the Royal Commission of 1909 the balance of importance of poor-law duties has changed very greatly. At that time outdoor relief of the able-bodied was a comparatively insignificant part of the work of the poor-law guardians. Since 1921 their chief duty has been the relief of destitution due to unemployment. This has been an immense and an unprecedented burden. Before the war, labor's main object was to take from poor-law care the children, the sick, and the non-able-bodied of various

<sup>1</sup> This committee, of which Sir Donald McLean was chairman, was made up of representatives of all parties and of signatories of both the majority and minority reports of 1909. The committee was appointed "to consider and report upon the steps to be taken to secure the better co-ordination of public assistance in England and Wales and upon such other matters affecting the system of local government as may from time to time be referred to it." The committee's *Report on the Transfer of Functions of Poor Law Authorities* (Cd. 8917) appeared in 1918.

kinds. Today the main problem is to deal with the unemployed and their dependents who are not provided for by unemployment insurance. From the position of being the least important branch of poor-law expenditure, provision for the able-bodied unemployed and their families has become by far the heaviest.<sup>1</sup>

The burden of unemployment is not, however, equally borne by all poor-law authorities. In some areas the number of unemployed is comparatively small; in others it is so great that the boards of guardians have been rendered bankrupt by this burden. In many industrial areas labor has become powerful and is sometimes the governing party on the boards. In these areas the labor representatives have insisted that the relief of destitution means the prevention of semistarvation and the maintenance of a reasonable level of subsistence. Labor has endeavored to keep its people healthy, and not merely alive. In fact, it has endeavored to administer the poor-law on the same principles that other local authorities administer health provisions and to maintain the self-respect as well as the health of the families it relieves.

But health, education, and the other social services administered by local authorities are assisted by grants from national revenue in addition to locally levied rates. Poor-law authorities, on the other hand, must raise all their money locally by the local rates. While labor considers that the grants given to local authorities are themselves insufficient, as these services are of a national character, it claims that the burden of unemployment should be borne nationally and not thrust upon the poorest areas, which are also those most affected by unemployment.

In London there are twenty-eight poor-law authorities and twenty-eight borough councils, some rich and some very poor. The vigorous action of the labor councilors at Poplar,<sup>2</sup> where they held almost every seat on the borough council, in co-operation with their board of guardians, where they exercise equal power, forced the government to pass legislation which goes some way toward equalizing London rates, the rich areas paying something toward the expenses of the poor. A large group of labor aldermen and councilors in Poplar

<sup>1</sup> See also the figures quoted on p. 588.

<sup>2</sup> Poplar is one of the very poor districts of East London.



Borough, including four who are now members of Parliament, George Lansbury, Sam March, Susan Lawrence, and John Scurr, had actually to go to prison before this reform was won. Even this reform, however, only means that in London the poorer areas get some assistance from the richer ones. It leaves the cost of outdoor relief entirely on the rates, no help being given from central funds. In other parts of the country the inequality remains to the fullest extent, and those areas which have an enormous number of unemployed have actually become bankrupt in the effort to provide for them.<sup>1</sup> Unemployment insurance cannot meet the needs of the present situation. Under the present system a very large number of unemployed are not entitled to benefit. These must be provided for, and there is only poor-law relief available.

During a period like that of 1926, when for nearly seven months there was a lockout in the mining industry, the poor-law authorities had to provide for a still greater increase in the number of destitute persons. No unemployment insurance benefit was payable to any miner who was locked out. The following figures, showing the cost of outdoor relief for the last year for which figures are available (1925-26) and also for two representative years before the war and two other representative post-war years, indicate the growth of outdoor relief after the war:

Year Ending March 31	£
1909.....	3,344,969
1914.....	2,421,689
1921.....	5,793,383
1922.....	15,443,084
1926.....	15,326,742

<sup>1</sup> Even a conservative weekly like the *Spectator* was obliged to set out the injustice of the situation at the time of the Poplar controversy in 1921 as follows: "The very boroughs which are most oppressed by the poverty of the unemployed are necessarily those which are least able to raise money to relieve the distress. London is the only English city in which each separate district has to bear its own burden of unemployment. While Poplar with much unemployment is a poor borough, Westminster is a rich borough with little unemployment. A penny rate in Poplar produces only hundreds of pounds, while a penny rate in Westminster produces thousands. Yet Westminster does not share the burden of Poplar nor does any other borough" (*Spectator* [September 3, 1921], p. 290).



In the six months up to September, 1926, after outdoor relief had already reached £13,000,000, no less than ninety-four boards of guardians outside of London were obliged to get loans in order to meet their current expenditures.

It may be thought that the relief given to the miners and their dependents would have saved them from destitution. This is hardly the truth. The ministry of health, which is the central authority for poor-law administration, issued a circular at the beginning of the miners' lockout making certain suggestions as to the maximum amount of relief that the boards of guardians should give. Under the law it had no power to do more than *suggest*, and the suggestion was that relief should not exceed 12 shillings for a wife and 4 shillings for each child; at the same time the boards of guardians were informed that they could not legally give out relief to any miner, except for his wife and children. "Children" is generally taken to mean children under fourteen. Any child who had left school and had gone to work or sought work was not included. The boards did not follow this advice completely. The rates decided upon, where labor was not in control, were more often 10 shillings for the wife and 2 shillings 6 pence for each child; the standards of some of the boards were very much lower, and some gave no relief for the youngest child if it was under twelve months. In all cases the relief might be given wholly or in part in food, nothing being provided for fuel to cook it, for boots and clothing, or for soap to wash with. There are seventy-eight boards of guardians covering the greatest part of the mining population; and of these, twenty-four entirely suspended the ordinary distribution of out-relief during part of the lockout. The figures given to Parliament by the ministry of health show that something like £250,000 per week was spent on relief to miners' families. This meant only about 3 pence per head per day. Where labor was in power on the boards an endeavor was made to give more adequate relief, but while the boards are very little under the control of the ministry in normal times, they can borrow only with the minister's sanction and on the conditions which the minister lays down. As those that had to borrow were those with the largest mining population, the minister was able to require reductions in their scale as a condition for loans.

This power of control, however, led to a further development. The taste of power is a dangerous thing; and the Minister of Health, having once found out how to exercise it, decided to increase his rights by legislative enactment. In September the government introduced and passed through Parliament—their very large majority making the process simple—the Guardians (Default) Act. Under this the Minister of Health may supersede any boards of guardians whom he considers to be in default and place the whole of their powers in the hands of commissioners appointed by himself at salaries decided upon by himself to carry on the work. The salaries, however, must be paid, as must the rates, by the locality. This gives legislative and financial power to the minister with practically no parliamentary control, and takes out of the hands of the locality the rights which they have had since the time of Elizabeth. The power has already been exercised by the minister in three cases,<sup>1</sup> the second of which was a mining area which had gone beyond the minister's circular. In each case the change has led to a reduction in the numbers relieved and the amounts received, and as the Commissioners are quite without responsibility to the district, they can do this freely without suffering in any way at all for the hardship they create. The position, for example, in West Ham, one of the superseded authorities, may be gathered from the following figures:

The poor rate has been reduced by 4 pence in the pound. Seven thousand unemployed have been deprived of out-relief. This means depriving many thousands of women and children of all relief or diminishing the amount they were receiving. Meanwhile the death-rate of infants has increased from 45 per 1,000 births in the June quarter of 1926 to 57 per 1,000 in the same quarter for 1927.

This effort of autocratic reorganization on the part of the minister has fed his desire of power and led to a further development during the present year. The supersession of poor-law guardians whose policy he disliked was undoubtedly directed against labor boards. The Audit (Local Authorities) Bill has the same political character and is the culminating point in a long quarrel with the Poplar Borough Council, which has an overwhelmingly labor character. It will how-

<sup>1</sup> [References to the official reports covering two of these cases will be found in the section of this *Review* devoted to Public Documents; see below, pp. 698-700.]

ever affect all boards of guardians and all local councils except municipal boroughs, which make their own arrangements for audits.

The provisions for auditing the accounts of the first-named authorities are different from anything else in British local government. District auditors are appointed by the minister to carry out this work. They do not enter the civil service through the usual channel, and they occupy a curiously independent position even in relation to the minister who appoints them. Under the various acts and legal decisions which have arisen out of them, the business of the auditor is to examine the accounts of the local authorities, and he has power to surcharge members of a council for expenditure which the authority has not power to make legally, or which is due to negligence or corruption on their part. The minister has power to reduce or to remit the surcharge, and the members have also the right of appeal to the courts. Within the last few years the auditors' powers have been enlarged by legal decisions arising out of the rate of payment by the Poplar Borough Council to their employees. They established a minimum wage of £4 per week. In the view of the auditor this was excessive and unreasonable, and he surcharged them. The Poplar Council fought the case up to the House of Lords. The lower appeal court upheld them, but the House of Lords reversed their decision and part of their judgment is worthy of record.<sup>1</sup> Lord Sumner, in agreeing with another judge that the auditor could not claim to control questions of policy, but only matters of administration, pointed out that "The word, however, is *policy*, not *politics*, and *I can find nothing in the Acts which authorises them [the elected members of local authorities] to be guided by their personal opinions on political, economic, or social questions, in administering the funds which they derive from levying rates.*" This gave the auditor immense powers to surcharge where in his opinion the council had acted "unreasonably." The minister has now introduced a bill which goes even farther, and though it has not yet become law, it has gone to its last stage in the House of Commons.

Two provisions show the drastic and revolutionary character of this legislation. Under the first, any person who has been surcharged an amount exceeding £500 is disqualified from being elected or ap-

<sup>1</sup> [*Roberts v. Hopwood and Others* (H. of L.), [1925] A. C. 578, at 606. Italics added.]

pointed or being a member of any local authority. The second point is that any councilor aggrieved by the disallowance or surcharge made by the auditor may appeal to the high court when the amount exceeds £500, and in other cases, to the Minister of Health. This embodies two very important changes. The position which the bill contemplates has been thus described:

In the first place, a member of a Local Authority may be surcharged by an official who is appointed and removable by the Minister of Health but who is nevertheless independent of ministerial control, and therefore outside effective Parliamentary criticism. In the second place, the decisions of that official will not, in most cases, be interfered with by the Courts, but expenditure which he considers unreasonable may therefore become unlawful. In the third place, the Auditor's surcharge may lead to disqualification for membership. It follows from this that not only is local expenditure placed under the control of a new type of bureaucrat called the District Auditor, but also that the very membership of local councils themselves may come to be dominated by his conceptions of social expediency. At the very least, he will have power to eliminate "undesirable" members or candidates whose notions of social policy he considers extravagant. It should be noticed that the safeguard given by Clause 2, which provides for a declaration of innocent intent to be given by the Courts, is more apparent than real, because, since the District Auditor may surcharge a person on no other ground than that he considers that that person has indulged in "unreasonable" and therefore "unlawful" expenditure, it is hardly likely that the Court, while upholding the Auditor's power to surcharge, will declare that although the surcharge is valid, because the expenditure was "unreasonable," nevertheless the person surcharged acted "reasonably" and is therefore immune from disqualification.

In the view of the labor party, a progressive local authority with a labor majority will be effectively crippled when a Conservative auditor or a Tory government is dealing with it. It will be crippled in the worst possible manner by the disqualification of its best and most active members if they try to carry out on the local authority (i.e., council or board of guardians) a policy which the district auditor thinks is extravagant. The effect, therefore, of this and the Guardians (Default) Act mentioned previously is to bring the local authorities under the control of bureaucratic officials and to place local expenditure under their authority and not under the authority of the electors of the local authorities themselves.

There is still a third question to be considered. During the pres-

ent year the unemployment insurance acts at present in force come to an end and must be replaced by a new act. The present government appointed a committee known as the Blanesburgh Committee to make proposals for a new scheme.<sup>1</sup> That scheme contemplates a return to normal conditions of employment and fails to make provision other than a deterrent poor law for the large numbers that will still be without the benefits of the scheme. Mainly for this reason the report has been bitterly attacked at labor conferences.

In considering the government's proposals for the poor law from the labor point of view these facts have to be borne in mind. Under the government proposals boards of guardians would be abolished and their functions transferred to the county and county borough councils. Government audit would be applicable to all this transferred expenditure, so that the municipal councils would be brought thus far under the bill just described. No objection is taken to the treatment of ill health, including sickness, accidents, and infirmities, by the health authorities, nor to the transfer of services relating to children of school age to the education authorities, nor that of children under school age to the health authority. The treatment of the unemployed, however, is another question. In some vague way this is to be correlated with that of unemployment insurance, but it appears that the government is likely to implement the Blanesburgh Committee's report, which would leave a great number still outside the operation of an insurance scheme. These able-bodied poor would be dealt with by special public assistance committees of the county and borough councils; but they would be dealt with under the principles of a deterrent poor law, and the poor-law guardians would in fact continue to exist, though under a new name. They would still administer workhouses, might give relief wholly in uncooked food, and would be more than ever subject to the control of the minister.

There are several other provisions in the scheme that labor very strongly opposes. Amongst these is the substitution of the present methods of grants from national revenue, which are now paid as a certain percentage of the expenditure of the local authority, for standardized "block grants" which will be irrespective of whether

[<sup>1</sup> See the section of this *Review* devoted to public documents for a brief review of the Blanesburgh report, p. 697.]

the local authority is doing its work well or ill, and will effectively penalize those which are progressive and have a high ideal of social service and consequent large expenditure. But above all the proposals do nothing to relieve the local areas of the burden which the care of the unemployed has thrown upon them. The proposals are therefore not in accordance with the views of the Labor movement. With the breaking up of the poor law they are in agreement, and the transfer of poor-law services is, in general, consonant with schemes which labor has previously advocated, but for the most important duty of all—that of dealing with the unemployed—the new scheme makes no provision which relieves the present difficulty. Poor-law stigma, poor-law deterrence, poor-law burdens remain the same; and under the Board of Guardians (Default) Act and the bill relating to audit which will probably be passed in the present session, the localities will bear their burden and lose a part of their power of control.

The last few years have thus seen a completely new phase with regard to poor-law reform. Indeed, under the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1925 the present government has driven an ever increasing number of unemployed workers on to the poor law. At the same time they have enormously increased their power to hamper those authorities in giving adequate relief. While in the main, therefore, agreement has been reached between all parties in the community with regard to other poor-law duties, on the most acute question of the present, that of unemployment, the division between the Labor movement and the Conservative party is greater than ever.

In the foregoing account some of the curious anomalies of the poor law have been omitted. Its peculiar duties with regard to the registration of births, deaths, and marriages, its position as an authority for all destitute lunatics, imbeciles, and mentally deficient, and its position as a rating authority have been omitted because no question of principle would prevent all these powers being moved quite easily from the poor law to other authorities.

The position of the guardians in the minds of the workers during the past twenty years has changed in those areas where labor has become the majority or even a strong minority on the boards. In such areas the boards have a certain popularity and have done their work as far as possible on what may be called the humane and preventive



system. These are still a minority and it is true to say that, broadly speaking, the relieving officer, the workhouse, and the guardians are still the best hated institutions in the country. While in some areas the institutions for the sick under the control of the guardians have become well-equipped hospitals, almost indistinguishable from other hospitals, in general the poor-law infirmary is a last resort; and its administration is badly hampered by the fact that people are admitted to it, not on account of the particular illness from which they suffer, but because they are destitute persons.

It was not, however, until the miners' lockout that it was made clear to all that those poor-law authorities, still dominated by Tory representatives, had learned nothing and forgotten nothing since 1834. In a few areas, within two months of the commencement of the lockout, outdoor relief was discontinued or reduced to a bare pittance, and the workhouse was offered as a substitute. This became more frequent as time went on, and in a few instances the miners' families entered the workhouse only to find the conditions so abominable that within a day or so they came out again. The workhouse had been offered, but no provision made for the decent reception of those who accepted this test of their destitution. The old prison qualities have remained, and though the Dickensian scandals of the mixed workhouse with all classes of inmates from infancy to infirm old age belong to the past and though efforts have been made to get the children at least outside their walls, so long as they exist at all, they cannot be freed from the abominable qualities of the past. Once a family enters the portals of the workhouse they all find their way to separate parts of the institution; and as the destitute person cannot own any property, they find themselves forced to make a completely new start if ever they get out again. In this respect the workhouse is worse than prison, for the prisoner may retain his furniture and other property, while a pauper may possess nothing.

The new proposals say nothing about the abolition of the workhouse, and when it is realized that the number of destitute persons receiving poor-law relief is well over 2,250,000, if the system applied to the able-bodied remains what it is today no substantial improvement is being proposed. There are some ways in which the outdoor



poor may find their position even worsened. For example, under the act establishing pensions for widows on a contributory system of insurance, a committee of the local council is the administrative body. The amount allowed under the scheme is not sufficient for a widow with children who has no other resources. Today she has to apply to the poor law for supplementary assistance. It is hardly likely that under the new system, when assistance of this kind would be given by a committee of the very local authority which administers the pensions, she will be as likely to get help as she is today.

In accordance with the Parliament act, the present Parliament may legally remain in being until the end of 1929. The government has so large a majority that it is just possible it may live out this Parliament. Apparently it is endeavoring to put off a dissolution at least until the beginning of 1929. There is very little legislation which it will dare to touch during that period. New factory legislation appears to be indefinitely postponed, and it is hardly likely to attempt to do anything more to antagonize labor by special restrictive acts following upon the Trade Disputes and Trade Union Act of this year. Its kite-flying for reform of the House of Lords was somewhat disastrous. The only big proposal, therefore, which it seems safe to touch is that of poor-law reform. If their plan is carried out it will go to some extent in the same direction as labor had desired; but as far as the biggest problem of the poor law of today is concerned, that of the destitute unemployed, no change for the better is even contemplated. The bankruptcy of the poorest areas will remain; the burden of unemployment will bring more of them to ruin; and the control of the ministry of health will be further exercised for the reduction of the standard of life of the victims of industrial depression.

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## "POVERTY, NUTRITION, AND GROWTH"

EVER since the beginning of serious investigations on the health of infants and children it has been believed that poverty is an important factor in influencing mortality and nutrition and growth. It has been shown by many studies that broadly speaking the less favored economic groups have the greater hazard for health and life, and that "the town child of the poorer classes is on the average less well grown and less vigorous than the child of the well-to-do or than the country child." Careful detailed proof of the direct relationship between environment and health has been surprisingly small in amount, and some data have been accumulated which would indicate that the factor of poverty alone has little influence upon death-rates or resistance to disease. Most of the information which has been collected has dealt with environment as a whole. It has been taken for granted that if the financial condition of peoples was improved that this alone would be sufficient to modify favorably the mortality and sickness rate.

A recent report<sup>1</sup> by the Medical Research Council in the Child Life Investigation Series on Studies of Child Life in Cities and Rural Districts of Scotland furnishes a comprehensive and conclusive accumulation of data on the relation of poverty, nutrition, and growth.<sup>2</sup> The discussion of these data is most illuminating, and the analysis of the various factors in environment and their possible direct influence upon health reveals interesting conclusions somewhat at variance with the usually accepted notions. The report calls attention to the importance of the development and growth of children as affecting the character of the adult population, and also sets forth

<sup>1</sup> Great Britain, Privy Council, Medical Research Council. *Child Life Investigations; Poverty, Nutrition, and Growth; Studies of Child Life in Cities and Rural Districts of Scotland*. Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1926 (Special Report Series No. 101). Pp. 333. 10s.

<sup>2</sup> Data for the urban children were secured in the poorer districts of the three great industrial cities of Scotland, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dundee; the rural data were secured in eight different country districts.

the inadequacy of our knowledge concerning the factors which control these conditions. The fact that a child may be influenced, not alone by his environment after birth, but also by antenatal influences, is clearly shown. The importance of maternal factors, particularly, is emphasized; and it is pointed out that "the influence of the mother does not terminate at birth, but is operative from infancy throughout childhood and school age, in fact, until the child leaves the parental home." The influence of heredity upon health must also be borne in mind, as well as the effect that may be caused by the congestion of city life, as contrasted with the freer life of the country.

The report is based on a study made in 1919 not only of the slum population of Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Dundee, but also of the children of agricultural laborers and rural miners in Scotland. The methods used in conducting the investigation were so comprehensive as to make the results quite conclusive. Large groups of children coming to child-welfare centers were examined, and house-to-house visits were made upon selected groups. The families were divided according to the type of work carried on by the fathers, whether skilled or unskilled, according to the income of the families, and according to the condition of the house as to size and location. The racial characteristics of the districts were considered, and the possible modification of statistics on this basis borne in mind. Children of the three age groups—infancy, preschool, and school age—were considered separately.

Height for age was taken as the measure of growth. Nutrition was defined as "the manner in which an individual absorbs and assimilates his food, in short increases his bulk." Weight was taken as the best index of nutrition. Here, as in relation to growth, a careful study of the literature was made and the unsatisfactory character of the indexes of nutrition fully recognized. The conclusions are finally reached that weight in relation to height gives a better idea of the infant stage of nutrition than weight referred to age. It is recognized that no satisfactory measure for determining vigor or vitality is possible. "The small light child may be physiologically superior to the large and heavy one of the same age."

The first study has to do with a comparison of children of the

poorer classes in town and country. The factors of environment and heredity have to be balanced against one another in this connection. After careful consideration the ultimate conclusion is reached that, while there is apparently some delay in the rate of growth of the average town child between birth and eighteen months, after that age the growth proceeds as rapidly in the town as in the country child. This conclusion is in accord with the observations of previous investigators on the rate of growth of children in different social classes. The difference between the urban and the country child is more marked in the case of girls than of boys. With regard to growth in weight alone, the urban girls have a definite superiority. With relation to growth in height, urban and rural boys show absolutely no difference.

The influence of heredity on these factors was studied; and from the data collected it would appear that the inheritance of stature is at least one factor in determining height and weight of children. The relationship in stature between parents and child is more marked in girls than in boys, at least in the younger ages, and the influence of the mother is greater than that of the father. Whether environmental conditions are responsible for the delay in growth up to eighteen months of age is still open to discussion, but it is clear that beyond that age the growth impulse carries on so that the child attains the average size of its parents, whatever the environmental conditions may be.

The next matter to be studied was the effect of income and home conditions on growth. It was pointed out in this connection that it is difficult to estimate properly the effect of external conditions because of the fact that, if the environment is changed sufficiently gradually, the individual may adapt himself perfectly and not be influenced either unfavorably or favorably. If, on the other hand, the change is made abruptly, the effect, favorable or otherwise, may be very marked. It is also pointed out that there very possibly may be a limit range within which food and income produce a change, but that these factors may cease to be operative either favorably or unfavorably when the upper and lower limits have been exceeded. It has generally been considered that the small size and weight of the slum child is the result of poverty. It is well known that the well-to-

do urban child is larger and healthier than the poor city child. The question has not been determined whether an increase in income alone would change the condition of the poor city child. The report reviews very carefully previous studies bearing on this point. For the purposes of this study the total income for the family was expressed as income per person. The income per person per week was then compared with the height and weight of preschool and school children. Within the range of income studied it was found that there was no definite relationship between height and weight and the economic condition of the family.

The next matter studied was the cubic air space per person. This was considered without reference to ventilation or size of the house. From a review of previous work it would seem that there was some relationship between air space and development, but no attempt had been made to separate air space from other factors, such as income and size of the family. The results of the studies by the Council show that after the first year the height and weight of children in the more crowded houses are lower, but there is not sufficient correlation to justify the suggestion that overcrowding is a dominant influence. In the school child the association is more striking than in the younger children, particularly with reference to height, which seems to be more closely associated with overcrowding than weight.

The size of the family, although closely related to income per person and cubic air space, shows practically no significant relationship to weight and height in children under one year of age. Over one year, the results on growth and height are slightly in favor of the smaller families. On the whole, it would seem that the evidence is not very convincing that overcrowding has any large effect within the range studied on the growth and nutrition of children.

An interesting corollary study was made upon the relation of income to diet. It would seem from the families studied that a more favorable economic condition does not necessarily result in greater increase in the caloric content of the food consumed by the family. This is because as the social condition improves the extra money is expended for articles other than food, so that the total percentage of income spent for food actually decreases. Although the total caloric content of the food does not materially increase with additional in-

come, the proportionate amount of carbohydrate food decreases and the amount of fat in the diet increases. The protein content remains practically stationary. The protein, however, in the poorer classes is derived more largely from vegetable proteins and is therefore of an inferior quality. The significant result from this study is that in the income spent for food the important matter to be considered is the intelligent use of money in purchasing food of high energy value, rather than an increase in the amount of money expended. As the report finally concludes, "the energy value of the diet is dependent upon marketing rather than upon the total income."

A careful study was made of the actual diet of the families under consideration. The influence of food on nutrition and growth is discussed in some detail; and the question is raised as to whether the country child eats greater amounts of food because he is bigger and more active, or whether he is bigger and more active because he eats a larger amount of food. It is certainly true that the relationship between the amount of food consumed and the size of the child can be studied in either way with equal parallelism.

Weight is known to be influenced by feeding, but only within certain limits; an increase in food beyond the optimum amount is harmful rather than beneficial. Increase in size occurs even with insufficient food and without gain in weight. The racial factor and other environmental factors, such as air and sunlight, undoubtedly have an influence upon growth and nutrition. Also fatigue and indigestion must be considered. It was very difficult to show a direct relationship between weight and the caloric intake of food.

An intensive study was made of twelve families, typical of the whole series. One family's diet was studied over a period of three years. There was in general a relationship between the income and the energy value of diets. The children of the families with incomes below the mean fell markedly short of the standard figures for weight and height, while in the families above the same point they fell short of the standards by only about half as much. "The results seem to indicate that factors other than food supply played a part in determining the unsatisfactory state of the nutrition of these children. The city child, with considerably less calories and less than half a pint of milk per day, after eighteen months of age grows at the

same rate as the country child." The country child from one to five years of age is approximately 10 per cent heavier than the city child; he leads a more active life and may demand a more liberal diet. "The absence of any correlation between the weights of the children and income seems to indicate that diet is not the all-important factor in determining growth which it is often supposed to be." "Below a certain energy intake there is a small correlation between the size of the child and the caloric value of the diet."

The effect of breast feeding was also investigated. It was clearly shown that up to the ninth month there is a definite relationship between breast feeding and gain in weight. With duration of breast feeding after the ninth month the superiority of the breast-fed baby disappears. The growth in length of the breast-fed baby up to nine months is often greater than the artificially fed, but the differences are not so striking as in weight. It would seem, using height and weight as a basis of measurement, that the child who is not breast fed at all is, after the usual period of weaning, as good a child as one who has been breast fed the whole time. Other factors, such as greater number of deaths among the artificially fed, may modify the accuracy of this comparison. Nutrition alone is not the only basis upon which two infants may be compared.

The importance of prenatal factors in influencing the height and weight of the child was investigated. The dependence of the child upon its mother is one of the most evident of physiological facts; but just how this is operative has not been clearly demonstrated in previous studies. The actual health of the mother during her pregnancy and her natural vigor have been supposed to affect directly the health of the child; but it is quite possible that, because the mother does not have the energy to give her children and her house adequate attention, the child suffers quite as much as from direct hereditary causes.

In the present study it was not possible to show any distinct relationship between the height and weight of the infant and the general health of the mother nor her health during pregnancy. The correlation of the mother's health with income, air space, and size of the family did not indicate that "the health of the mother was influenced to any significant extent" by any of these factors. The relationship



of the industrial occupation of the mother during her pregnancy to the height and weight of the child was also studied, and a careful review of the previous work on this subject is presented. This review gives no clear indication that industrial work by the mother has any effect on the child. The fact is brought out that household employment at home may be more arduous and continuous than industrial labor, and the question is raised whether additional income derived from the work may not counteract "the possible disadvantage of employment."

The present study shows that "the correlations of height and weight of the child to the industrial occupation of the mother are quite insignificant and give absolutely no evidence that industrial occupation of the mother is detrimental to the growth and nutrition of the child."

The efficiency of the mother was next studied in relation to the care of the house and to the care of her children. A previous study had indicated that "it is the health and habits of the parents, far more than the environmental conditions, upon which the welfare of the infant depends." This study also reveals that this is "the factor so far investigated which seems to be most definitely related to the growth and nutrition of the child." Up to six years of age, which is the range of age studied, there is greater relationship between maternal efficiency and weight of girls than in the case of the weight of boys. Maternal efficiency was recognized as a complex condition involving not only cleanliness of the children and the home, the giving of adequate sleep and fresh air, but also providing food proper in kind, in quantity, and preparation, and serving it at regular intervals.

Correlated studies were made in an attempt to secure further information on maternal efficiency and its dependence upon maternal health, poverty, overcrowding, nationality, and mental capacity. "A fairly high relationship" was found "between maternal health and maternal efficiency," but "within the class studied, income" was "not a dominant factor affecting the efficiency of the mother." Overcrowding and the size of the family seemed to have some relationship with maternal efficiency, though it was not very great. "Of the various factors studied, maternal efficiency is the only one which plays a significant part in determining the nutrition of the

child, and this seems to hold good only till the end of the second year of life."

The age of the mother and the order of birth showed no great influence on the nutrition of the children, but order of birth had "more close association with weight and height than the age of the mother." The children of young and old mothers and those of the first and over the eighth pregnancy are lighter and shorter than those of the intervening pregnancies. These differences tend to disappear as the age of the child increases. The first-born who survive at the end of the first year, however, show quite definite superiority over the others.

A study was made of the relationship of environment to the growth and nutrition of the children of rural coal-miners in Scotland. This class is intermediate in position between the urban poor and agricultural laborers. The results corresponded closely with those obtained in the slum families of the city. A study of the families of agricultural laborers confirms the evidence obtained from the investigation of slum families and indicates that the factor most directly correlated with growth and nutrition of the child is the efficiency of the mother.

Final conclusions of the study indicate that if the early retardation in weight and height of the town infant as compared with the country infant is "due to some environmental factor or factors they must be chiefly operative before the middle of the second year of life." The general opinion is confirmed that "small parents tend to beget small children," and that "town dwellers are on an average shorter and lighter than the inhabitants of country districts." "No clear indication" was found "that the nutrition of the child is directly associated with the income of the family." "The correlations of weight and height to the size of family and to air space per person" were "small and in many of them insignificant." No support was found for the common belief that the small size of the town child is due to a defective supply of suitable food. There is some correlation, however, between the energy value of the diet when the food intake falls below a certain required minimum. No correlation was manifest after the ninth month between breast and artificial feeding and the weight of the child. The general health of the mother or her health

during pregnancy did not appear to be factors of prime importance to the condition of the child. The most important factor discovered bearing on the health of the child was the efficiency of the mother. The critical period of childhood is before the end of the second year, and during that time the child is obviously most dependent upon its mother's care. To some extent maternal efficiency is associated with overcrowding and with the health of the mother.

Many questions of scientific interest are raised by the report. It seems to show, however, that "the current teaching gives too much rather than too little weight to environmental factors," and "that heredity and the inherited growth impulse play no small part in determining the growth of the child, and that in spite of environmental factors which may appear prejudicial, the slum child tends to develop on the lines of its parents."

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## THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STATUS OF THE INJURED WORKMAN UNDER THE NEW YORK COMPENSATION LAW

THE RISK of life and limb associated with the specialized routine of modern industry depends less and less on factors under the control of the individual workman. Both cautious and heedless workers are often equally exposed to the hazards of power-driven machinery and high explosives, or to poisonous fumes and gases used in many processes today. The unfairness of letting the whole cost of injuries fall upon the worker has been recognized, and workmen's compensation laws have been passed to furnish the machinery for distributing that burden. It is now an established public policy to make the cost of the accidents and injuries a charge on the industry, with the expectation that the number of accidents will thereby be reduced and the worker be compensated for the loss in his earning power.

In the decade and a half since the first permanent workmen's compensation law went into effect in this country there have been many experiments with this form of legislation. It is now desirable to survey some of the effects of these statutes in order to determine whether or not the purposes of the legislation have been achieved. It is difficult to ascertain how far restitution has been made to the worker and to what extent the money payment allowed by law actually compensates him for his loss. It is necessary to inquire further whether the administrative arrangements of the law work out so as to affect his social status and his individual outlook upon the world, as well as his economic position. The present study represents an attempt to find out what compensation actually did for 168 injured persons whose records were available for study in the offices of the New York Charity Organization Society.<sup>1</sup> The society permitted

<sup>1</sup> This society has for a long time been aware of the particular difficulties in readjustment that faced the worker and his family after a serious accident. The co-operation of this society with students in the course in statistics at Mount Holyoke College made available in the spring of 1926 its long and valuable experience with these problems.

the examination of the histories of its clients living and working in New York City (with the usual protection of the identity of the individuals). Transcripts were made of the records of 201 injured persons to whom the society had given its services after the injury. The majority of the accidents occurred in the years 1920-22, and only three after the modification of the law in 1925 reducing the waiting period from fourteen to seven days.

#### PROVISIONS OF THE NEW YORK LAW

The scope of the present law is wide. Its provisions apply whether the employer is a private individual, a business corporation, the state, or a political subdivision thereof. They apply to workers in practically all occupations, with the important exceptions of farm laborers and domestic servants. Injuries occurring to maritime workers and to those engaged in interstate commerce usually fall within the jurisdiction of the federal government. If the injured worker is a longshoreman and was injured on board a vessel, or in the water, or on the gangplank, he may not receive the protection of the state law, but comes within federal jurisdiction. It may happen that he will be required to wait a long period while the question of jurisdiction is being settled. This was true of one of the cases studied, that of a man who was hurt in 1919 while unloading a vessel. Compensation was granted in the usual way, but in June, 1920, payment was suspended because the law was interpreted again to bar all admiralty cases except those in which injury occurred on the dock. Thus carpenters, longshoremen, and other workers on vessels may not have state protection in those cases over which the United States courts have exclusive jurisdiction, nor may railroad employees engaged in interstate commerce, unless all parties waive their admiralty or interstate rights and remedies.

The benefits cover not only "accidental injuries arising out of and in the course of employment," but also "such disease or infection as may naturally and unavoidably result therefrom."<sup>1</sup>

Disability, as defined by the law, means a condition that makes it impossible to earn full wages at the work at which the employee was last employed. With reference to its *duration*, disability may

<sup>1</sup> New York Workmen's Compensation Law, Article I, Sec. 2, subdivision 7.

be *temporary*, such as that resulting from strains, cuts, or fractures which interfere with earning for a longer or shorter time; or *permanent* or irreparable, such as that resulting from the loss of an eye or leg. With reference to its *degree*, disability may be *partial*, as in cases where earning capacity is reduced; or *total*, as in cases where the nature of the injury precludes further employment.

The amount of compensation varies with the severity of the injury, but is based on the weekly wage of the injured. When awarded in the form of weekly payments, it may not exceed \$20 nor be less than \$8. In general, two-thirds of the weekly wage is given, as follows:

For permanent total disability: two-thirds of the average weekly wage during the continuance of disability.

For temporary total disability: two-thirds of the average weekly wage during the continuance of disability, but not in excess of \$3,500.

For permanent partial disability: two-thirds of the average weekly wage for a period determined by the nature of the injury. For disfigurement, two-thirds of the average weekly wage up to a maximum of \$3,500. Other injuries in this category are compensated by two-thirds of the difference between the average weekly wages before and after the injury.

For temporary partial disability: two-thirds of the difference between the average weekly wages before and after the injury, but not in excess of \$3,500.

In addition to these money payments the law requires that:

The employer shall promptly provide for an injured employee such medical, surgical, or other attendance or treatment, nurse and hospital service, medicine, crutches, and apparatus for such period as the nature of the injury or the process of the recovery may require.<sup>1</sup>

The "waiting period" is the interval from the beginning of disability to the first payment. This is fixed by law in order to exclude unimportant injuries. Since the end of 1924 this period has been seven days in New York; before that it was fourteen days. No payment is made for the loss during the waiting period unless the disability continues for forty-nine days.<sup>2</sup>

#### THE CASES STUDIED

The case histories studied were those of a group that exhibited most of the characteristics that are conspicuous in the whole body

<sup>1</sup> New York Workmen's Compensation Law, Article II, Sec. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Sec. 12.

of wage-earners in an industrial community. Only 168 of the 201 records transcribed contained sufficient compensation data to make it appropriate to include them in the study.

The injured persons were employed in a variety of occupations. Nearly half (81) were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical occupations at the time they were injured, and about half of these were common laborers. A fifth were employed in transportation, and smaller proportions in the other census classifications of occupations.

TABLE I  
DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS BY AGE AND WAGE WHEN INJURED

AGE GROUPS (YEARS)	TOTAL NUMBER OF WORKERS	WEEKLY WAGES					
		Under \$20	\$20 and Less than \$30	\$30 and Less than \$40	\$40 and Less than \$50	\$50 and Less than \$60	Over \$60
Total.....	141*	25	57	40	15	3	1
15 and less than 20.....	3	1	2				
20 and less than 25.....	5	2	3				
25 and less than 30.....	19	2	6	6	3	1	1
30 and less than 35.....	17	1	10	5	1		
35 and less than 40.....	38	5	20	10	2	1	
40 and less than 45.....	32	4	10	9	8	1	
45 and less than 50.....	11	2	1	7	1		
50 and less than 55.....	6	3	3				
55 and less than 60.....	5	3		2			
60 and over.....	5	2	2	1			

\* Includes two men, each injured twice.

Only 20 (or 12 per cent) were women. In age, the group studied ranged from fifteen to sixty-three at the time of the injury, with half in the decade between thirty-four and forty-five years of age (see Table I). When arranged by the United States Census age classifications of workers, the peak fell in the same group with the peak for all wage-earners in the United States, that is, between twenty-five and forty-four.

Their earnings before their injuries, when compared with those of factory workers in New York state, show them to have had roughly the same earning capacity. The median of the former was between twenty and thirty dollars. The averages for factory workers



in New York state in the years when the majority of the accidents occurred were as follows:<sup>1</sup>

1920.....	\$28.15
1921.....	25.72
1922.....	25.04

#### THE FOREIGN-BORN WORKER

An indication of the greater difficulty that the foreign-born worker has in securing his adjustment after an accident is found in the large majority of cases of workers born abroad that come to the attention of the After-Care Service of the New York Department of Labor. In most cases the difficulty has been occasioned by ignorance of the language and of the industrial situation. The foreign worker's status before the law, however, is not the same as that of the native. Section 17 of the Workmen's Compensation Law discriminates against the non-resident alien by limiting the dependents who may benefit and (at the option of the Commission) by limiting the amount paid. There is no provision for his compensation after he leaves the country.<sup>2</sup>

The largest number of the cases in the present study (124 out of 168) were those of foreign-born workers. To the foreigner, compensation is usually a mysterious process, and as a rule he knows little about the procedure involved. His ignorance may be the cause of the delay, which is a serious disadvantage to him. This was the case with an Italian worker among those studied, who, because he knew neither the employer's name nor that of the pier where he had been injured, had to wait three weeks to get his much-needed award. Over a third (48) of the foreign born came from Italy. Ireland contributed 26 workers; Austria-Hungary, 13; and the rest were scattered among twenty other countries.

It is frequently impossible to unravel all the complications connected with the adjustments of the claims of foreigners. A Turk whose injury resulted in an internal hemorrhage received \$400 in compensation, but was promised an additional \$400 when he ex-

<sup>1</sup> *The Industrial Bulletin* (New York), V, No. 7 (April, 1926), 186.

<sup>2</sup> "Alien Workers in Workmen's Compensation Legislation in the United States," *International Labor Review*, IX, No. 6 (June, 1924), 946.

pressed a preference to live in his own country, to cover his transportation if the journey should be made.

#### THE EFFECT OF INJURY ON EARNING CAPACITY

The effect of an injury for which the law allows compensation is in most cases a loss of earning power which is permanent. The extent to which this is the case is seen by a comparison of the wage groups before and after the injury (see Table II and Chart I). More than half of the number studied received lower weekly wages when they were able to return to work. Only seven of the eighty-two persons whose wage rates for both periods were available had the

TABLE II  
DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS IN WAGE GROUPS BEFORE AND AFTER INJURY

WEEKLY WAGES BEFORE INJURY	TOTAL NUMBER OF WORKERS	WEEKLY WAGES AFTER INJURY						
		Less than \$10	\$10 and Less than \$15	\$15 and Less than \$20	\$20 and Less than \$25	\$25 and Less than \$30	\$30 and Less than \$35	\$35 and Over
Total .....	82†	10	10	15	18	16	6	7
Less than \$10 .....	1	1*						
\$10 and less than \$15 .....	3		2	1				
\$15 and less than \$20 .....	6	1*	3	1	1			
\$20 and less than \$25 .....	17	3	2	3	7	1	1	
\$25 and less than \$30 .....	25	4*	2	6	3	7	2	1
\$30 and less than \$35 .....	14	1	1		4	5	3	
\$35 and over .....	16			4	3	3		6

\* Includes janitor who received rent free.

† Includes one man injured twice.

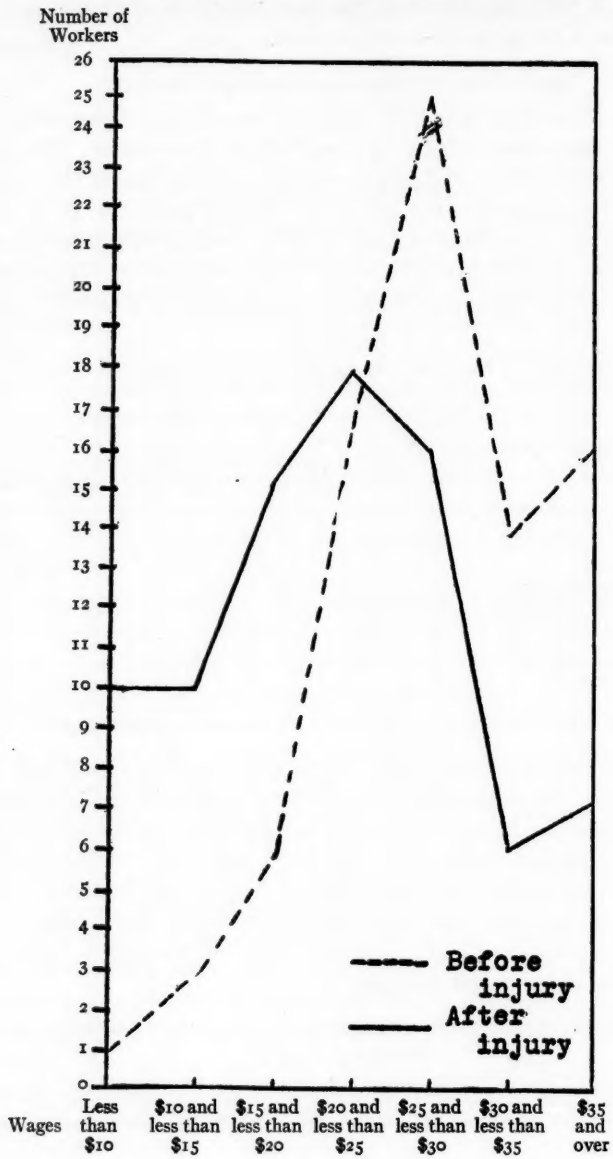
good fortune to receive higher wages after the injury, and only a third were able to return to their former employment or else to earn approximately the same wages in other positions. There were twice as many persons earning less than \$25 a week after the injuries as before. The median wage had changed from \$27.80 to \$21.67. The reductions of wage must have brought the lowest-paid workers to actual dependency. In the cases of seven the amount received a week was actually less than \$10.

#### THE CHANGED ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL STATUS OF THE WORKER'S FAMILY

The compensation legislation in its present form relieves the injured worker of only part of the loss that would otherwise be his.

CHART I

DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS IN WAGE GROUPS BEFORE AND AFTER INJURY



# THE STATUS OF THE INJURED WORKMAN 613

A reading of the statute makes clear its general aim to restore to the incapacitated worker two-thirds of the wage he earned before he was hurt. If, for instance, his wage were \$22.50 a week, his claim for \$15 a week compensation is clearly set forth. But Table III in-

TABLE III  
DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS ACCORDING TO COMPENSATION AND  
WEEKLY WAGE BEFORE INJURY

WEEKLY WAGES BEFORE INJURY	TOTAL NUMBER OF WORKERS	WEEKLY AMOUNTS OF COMPENSATION				
		Less than \$5	\$5 and Less than \$10	\$10 and Less than \$15	\$15 and Less than \$20	\$20 (Legal Limit)
Total.....	119	1	10	20	46	42
\$ 5 and less than \$10.....	2	1	1	.....	.....	.....
\$10 and less than \$15.....	13	.....	5	4	2	2
\$15 and less than \$20.....	8	.....	1	2	5	.....
\$20 and less than \$25.....	19	.....	2	9	6	2
\$25 and less than \$30.....	26	.....	.....	2	17	7
\$30 and less than \$35.....	21	.....	1	3	12	5
\$35 and over.....	30	.....	.....	.....	4	26

TABLE IV  
WEEKLY AMOUNTS OF COMPENSATION RECEIVED ACCORDING TO  
NATURE OF INJURY

WEEKLY COMPENSATION RECEIVED	TOTAL NUMBER OF WORKERS	NUMBER OF DEATHS	NUMBER OF PERMA- NENT INJURIES		NUMBER OF TEMPO- RARY INJURIES	
			Total	Partial	Total	Partial
Total.....	142*	5	7	40	34	56
Less than \$5.....	2	.....	.....	1	.....	1
\$ 5 and less than \$10.....	12	2	1	3	2	4
\$10 and less than \$15.....	28	3	2	8	4	11
\$15 and less than \$20.....	53	.....	3	15	13	22
\$20 (legal limit).....	47	.....	1	13	15	18

\* Includes five persons (counted twice) each with two injuries.

icates that compensation actually paid was not so much. More than half of the workers in the group whose median wage was \$22.50 received actually less than \$15 in compensation. The fact that more than a third of the workers fell into the group who received compensation of twenty dollars a week, the statutory limit for weekly payments, is another indication that an amount less than two-thirds of the income formerly earned was often received after the injury.

This was clearly the case with all of the fifty-one workmen in the last two wage groups whose earnings were in excess of \$30. The weekly maximum that the law allows is too low to permit the operation of the rule requiring payment of two-thirds of the wage. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that even in a case where the award is for two-thirds or more of the wage, it is made for a fixed number of

TABLE V  
TOTAL COMPENSATION RECEIVED BY 168 WORKERS ACCORDING TO  
NATURE OF INJURY

TOTAL COMPENSATION	NUMBER OF WORKERS RECEIVING SPECIFIED COMPENSATION					
	Deaths	Total	Temporarily Injured		Permanently Injured	
			Partial	Total	Partial	Total
Total .....	7	179*	70	40	55	7
Less than \$500 .....	2	84	42	22	17	1
Less than \$100 .....	I	26	19	4	2	.....
\$100 and less than \$200 .....	.....	24	11	6	6	I
\$200 and less than \$300 .....	.....	14	6	6	2	.....
\$300 and less than \$400 .....	.....	11	6	I	4	.....
\$400 and less than \$500 .....	I	9	.....	5	3	.....
\$500 and less than \$1,000 .....	I	36	12	8	14	I
\$1,000 and less than \$1,500 .....	I	11	.....	3	4	3
\$1,500 and less than \$2,000 .....	I	8	2	I	4	.....
\$2,000 and less than \$2,500 .....	I	9	3	I	3	I
\$2,500 and less than \$3,000 .....	.....	5	I	.....	4	.....
\$3,000 and less than \$3,500 .....	.....	I	.....	.....	I	.....
\$3,500 and less than \$4,000 .....	.....	3	.....	.....	3	.....
\$4,000 and less than \$4,500 .....	.....	2	I	.....	I	.....
\$4,500 and less than \$5,000 .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Over \$5,000 .....	I	5	.....	.....	4	.....
Not reported .....	.....	15	9	5	.....	I

\* Includes eight workers injured twice and one worker injured four times.

weeks, and if the disability continues beyond that time the worker will be without any compensation for it unless he succeeds in having his case reopened and his claim allowed.

The majority of the workers suffered a *permanent* reduction of their income, for when they were able to return to work, instead of substituting their former wage for the compensation payments, they were able to earn far less.

In so far as these workers are representative, it is clear that the effect of this form of insurance is to permit the cost of the accident

to fall heavily upon the worker instead of being thrown back on the industry. All the injuries that resulted in the death of the worker brought less than \$15 weekly in compensation to the family (see Table IV). Three of the seven cases of permanent total disability were awarded less than \$15. Most of these, because of the small amount of compensation, would have become public charges with-

TABLE VI  
RELIEF RECEIVED FROM THE CHARITY ORGANIZATION SOCIETY BY 168  
WORKERS ACCORDING TO TIME OF PAYMENT

AMOUNT OF RELIEF	TOTAL NUMBER OF WORKERS	NUMBER RECEIVING RELIEF				
		During Waiting Period	During Compensation	After Suspension of Compensation Payments	After Completion of Compensation Payments	Not Reported
Total .....	168	56*†	22*	22*	30*	56
Less than \$100 .....	82	37	20	14	18	.....
Less than \$10 .....	30	12	10	3	7	.....
\$10 and less than \$25 .....	26	13	4	6	4	.....
\$25 and less than \$50 .....	17	7	4	3	6	.....
\$50 and less than \$100 .....	9	5	2	2	1	.....
\$100 and less than \$200 .....	7	5	.....	1	1	.....
\$200 and less than \$300 .....	5	.....	1	3	4	.....
\$300 and less than \$400 .....	4	3	.....	1	3	.....
\$400 and less than \$500 .....	4	2	1	1	1	.....
Over \$500 .....	2‡	2	.....	.....	1	.....
No pecuniary relief .....	23	4	.....	.....	2	20
No relief reported .....	41	3	.....	2	.....	36

\* Includes fourteen men, each injured twice and two injured three times.

† Includes three persons injured after law of January, 1925, establishing one-week waiting period.

‡ One person received over \$3,000 relief.

out some other aid. In the cases of partial disability a larger proportion of the workers were paid higher amounts of compensation.

The total amount of compensation received, including the lump-sum awards as well as the weekly payments, grouped according to the nature of the injury, are shown in Table V.

The worker's inability to hold his own after the accident is clearly connected with the time schedule of the payment. The study made did not include other sources of relief than the New York Charity Organization Society, though in the majority of cases there were other sources. Table VI is, therefore, not to be taken as indicating

the amount of pecuniary aid required, but is an indication of the time at which outside assistance became necessary.

About a third of the workers felt the economic loss caused by the accident immediately and were forced to apply for aid during the waiting period, that is, before the law permitted any payment to be made. In all but three of the fifty-six cases the waiting period was two weeks. If it had been only seven days, as since January, 1925, some of these might never have been applicants for relief. An equal number of workers (22 in each case) received relief during the time they were also receiving compensation payments, a fact which indi-

TABLE VII  
SITUATION IN WORKER'S FAMILY AFTER INJURY ACCORDING TO  
NATURE OF DISABILITY

NATURE OF DISABILITY	TOTAL NUMBER OF WORK- ERS	FAMILY SITUATION AFTER INJURY							
		Not Report- ed	Financial Situation				Family Sepa- rated	Dependents Working	
			Aid from C.O.S.	Money Bor- rowed	Credit Ex- hausted	Rent in Arrears		Wife	Children under 16 Years
Total.....	170*	58	105	56	21	41	8	62	10
Death.....	7	2	6	1	.....	2	.....	4	1
Total.....	43	17	22	13	5	7	.....	17	3
Permanent.....	7	2	3	1	.....	1	.....	3	1
Temporary.....	36	15	19	12	5	6	.....	14	2
Partial.....	120	39	77	42	16	32	8	41	6
Permanent.....	53	17	36	18	6	11	5	21	3
Temporary.....	67	22	41	24	10	21	3	20	3

\* Includes two men injured twice.

cates that the amount of the award was insufficient to cover even expenses during disability and during the suspension of the payment, when, for one reason or another, payments which had been begun were discontinued. A slightly larger number (30) came for help when their payments had been completed, leaving them still unadjusted to the economic situation.

The economic plight of the worker and his family is not fairly measured by the depleted income. When the rent is in arrears and the grocer no longer will give supplies on credit, the very essentials of food and shelter are imperiled. More than a third of the families represented in the study either had exhausted credit at the stores or



were behind in their rent and subject to eviction (see Table VII). More than two-fifths found it necessary after the injury to supplement the earnings of the father by those of the wife or of children under sixteen years of age. In eight cases the family had been separated. No exact measure of the total amount of relief received was recorded, but more than half of the families had received financial aid from the Charity Organization Society alone. Thus the situation for many families had become one that required changes in the whole occupational and social status, and one that indicated really desperate straits.

## CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Judging from the experience of the families studied, it would seem fair to conclude that the injured workman, in spite of the compensation legislation, still bears so much of the cost of the injury

TABLE VIII  
INTERVAL BETWEEN INJURY AND COMPENSATION PAYMENTS

Time Interval from Date of Accident	Number Receiving Compensation Payments
Total.....	159
No delay.....	8
Less than 1 month.....	61
1 and less than 6 months.....	65
6 and less than 12 months.....	16
12 and less than 18 months.....	1
18 and less than 24 months.....	1
24 and less than 30 months.....	5
30 and less than 36 months.....	1
Over 3 years.....	1

that in many cases he completely loses his economic foothold. It further appears probable that this failure to guard his security is due, not only to the inadequacy of the financial payments, but, to some extent, to the method of administration of the law.

The worker's need after an accident is an immediate one. For this reason there has been much discussion as to the desirability of changing from a two-week to a one-week waiting period—a change which has already been made in the New York law. In only eight cases, however, did the worker receive compensation without further delay (see Table VIII). More than a third of the workers had

to wait for a period between one and six months from the date of the injury to the first payment. In many instances the delay was much greater, and in one case extended to a period of over three years. In some instances, it is true, the disability did not appear until some time after the accident, but in the majority of the cases these delays were due to the difficulty in establishing the claim or to the crowded docket long after the disability had interrupted earning.

Delay, coupled with uncertainty as to the final award, may be very demoralizing. It is, of course, necessary to establish a causal connection between the disability and the injury. Sometimes this is very difficult to prove and often not susceptible of proof even when it probably exists. The records studied included four cases of hernia in which the claims of the worker were disallowed after prolonged hearings, and the case of a riveter whose deafness could not be proved to be the result of the incessant and powerful vibrations to which his job subjected him.

In addition to the many cases in which the workers advanced claims in perfect good faith, there were others which turned out to be fraudulent. Workers have been known to feign injury for the sake of obtaining compensation, and in some instances the evidence indicated that the workers actually courted injury for the same purpose. But the most difficult cases to deal with were those in which there was self-deception. It is no easy matter to distinguish the person who deliberately refuses to readjust himself to industry from another who has developed a neurosis and is incapable of doing so on that account. Even the normal person will find it hard to get back into harness. Once free from the routine of regular employment, the thought of it is irksome, and the compensation payments make it possible to continue in idleness.

If the award is made in a lump sum, instead of in weekly payments, a strain may be put upon the worker which his limited experience has not prepared him to bear. One man succeeded in getting a lump sum with the understanding that he would use it to open a small retail shoe store. The After-Care Service of the New York Department of Labor helped him to secure an option in competition with several other bidders; but when he came into possession of the lump-sum award, he spent it all for amusements and luxuries,

and the woman who owned the store lost a good opportunity to sell it. Just as the disposal of a large sum by those who have handled only weekly wages has more than once been their undoing, so the anticipation of such a sum may be disastrous. The hoped-for award, even in the face of a weak claim, may become a certainty in the mind of the claimant, who contracts debts and spends it many times over only to find out that his claim is disallowed.

The study has served to emphasize the problems that still remain to be solved before workmen's compensation can be said to have accomplished the end for which it was enacted. The problems are:

1. The more rapid disposition of the worker's claim for compensation. The delay in hearing his case and in making the award is often the chief factor working against a plan to re-establish him.

2. The more adequate compensation of genuine claims. The customary allowance of two-thirds of the former wage is an arbitrary amount which may have no relation to his loss or his need. It has the result of making one worker bear far more of the loss than another. It may vitiate the very principle of the legislation. There should be no limit to full restitution except in so far as this reacts to the disadvantage of the worker.

3. The providing of skilled social service to those workers who need it. It is becoming clear that the problems of the injured worker are often those of mental and emotional readjustment. His sense of the injustice done to him, whether it be real or imagined, may make it impossible for him to find his place again without the encouragement and guidance which can be given only by an expert. The experience of the After-Care Service is making this very clear.

4. The keeping of such records as will make it possible to read the experience now accumulating with no doubt as to its meaning. The records here analyzed were those kept for other purposes which, it is to be assumed, they served adequately. For research into workmen's compensation machinery they were all too scant. Fuller occupational histories must be available, as well as the details of compensation payments and relief given.

In view of the fact that so little is known as to the actual social and economic effect of the compensation legislation, it may be said safely that a plan for keeping full and accurate records of 1,000 un-

selected compensation cases each year might yield better information on which to base recommendations for the future modification of the legislation than anything now in existence or likely to be available when amendments are proposed.

NOTE.—The following additional data are of interest:

#### REASONS FOR DELAY IN COMPENSATION AWARD

<i>Administrative machinery</i>		<i>Dissatisfaction at first decision</i>	
*Hearings of case delayed.....	21	Larger compensation desired.....	3
Processes of law (suits, etc.).....	12	‡Lump sum preferred.....	3
Company unwilling to pay.....	6	Award a matter of charity.....	1
Case appealed by insurance Co....	5		
Legal claims to be verified.....	4		7
†Interstate commerce case.....	3	No unusual delay.....	47
Employer disappeared.....	2	No reason for delay.....	41
Worked before case came up.....	1		
	54	Total.....	176
<i>Individual neglect</i>			
Failure to file claim.....	11		
Company negligent.....	1		
	12		
<i>Disability developed late</i>			
Pronounced cured at first.....	4		
Mental disability.....	2		
Physical disability.....	1		
Infection set in.....	1		
	8		
<i>Disability due to industrial accident</i>			
<i>disputed</i>			
Hernia.....	3		
Occupational disease.....	2		
Arthritis.....	1		
Internal hemorrhage.....	1		
	7		

\* Four men were also delayed on account of legal claims to be verified, dissatisfaction at the award, late appearance of disability, and dispute over cause of the injury.

† Two men were also delayed on account of the failure to file claim, and desire for larger compensation.

‡ One man is also delayed on account of late appearance of disability.

AMY HEWES

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE

## UNDIFFERENTIATED CASE WORK IN GERMANY

THE TERM "undifferentiated case work" best describes the organization of the *Familien Fürsorge*<sup>1</sup> ("family welfare") as one finds it today in many German cities both large and small. It is a subject that is widely discussed among social workers in Germany from the standpoint, first, of what *Familien Fürsorge*, or undifferentiated case work, is; second, how satisfactory it has been found to be in practice.

At a recent conference of the Deutscher Verband der Sozialbeamtinnen (German Society of Women Social Workers) held in Thuringia, social workers from ten different cities reported that the public welfare work in the cities which they represented was operating on the basis of *Familien Fürsorge*, or undifferentiated case work; others stated that their public welfare organization is rapidly being reorganized on the principle of *Familien Fürsorge*. From the discussion which followed it became evident, however, that the post-war policies of most organizations were still in process of formulation and therefore a lack of agreement as to the precise meaning of *Familien Fürsorge* is inevitable, and a good deal of controversy apparently exists as to what should be and what cannot be included under the name.

The principle underlying undifferentiated case work is that all the social welfare services rendered to a given family should be rendered by one person, who is called there the *Familien Fürsorgerin* (that is, the "family welfare worker"). The idea is to develop a thoroughgoing plan of family supervision; to consider the interest of the family as an integral group, as well as from the standpoint of the welfare of the individual members of the family unit; and also to stimulate interest in the whole plan on the part of the family itself.

<sup>1</sup> Literally translated, *Familien Fürsorge* seems to imply a relationship to the work of our American "family welfare" societies, but it actually corresponds much more to the type of work found in some of our county organizations in rural districts, where a single worker is responsible for many kinds of case work that are specialized in our cities.

The family welfare worker thus becomes a general practitioner, but she is also a person rendering specialized services in so far as they can be carried out in the family. She looks after the infant welfare problems, the needs of the pre-school child, the school child at home and in school, problems of dependency and delinquency, and all the health, social, and economic needs that the family may have as a social group or that its individual members may have.

This idea of a unified case work program is rapidly being worked out in the public welfare departments. Some of them adhere more closely to the principle than others, depending often upon local conditions. Nuremberg, whose social welfare work is organized on the principle of *Familien Fürsorge*, was one of the first cities to introduce this system. There are, however, other important cities, such as Cologne and Düsseldorf and the district of Steglitz in Berlin, where the *Familien Fürsorge* idea, although developed later than in Nuremberg, is carried out more completely than in the city of its origin. Throughout Germany, there seems to be general and increasing agreement as to the soundness of the principle involved, but local conditions do not always and everywhere permit the necessary unity in administration.

In the following article an attempt is made to present a general picture of the system of undifferentiated case work as one finds it administered in Nuremberg today and the problems that must be met by the family case worker wherever the system is introduced.

Nuremberg is a city of 400,000 population. It is so situated geographically that it attracts a large foreign population. Over one-half of the population receives charitable aid. The public welfare administration employs 52 trained social welfare workers who are distributed over 26 welfare districts. Each welfare worker therefore is responsible for an area including about 8,000 persons. This number may seem large, but similar areas in other cities frequently include from 10,000 to 12,000 persons.

The social work of the 26 districts is centralized in a public welfare administration consisting of three departments of work: *Gesundheitsfürsorge* ("health and hygiene"), *Erziehungsfürsorge* ("juvenile welfare"), and *Wirtschaftlichefürsorge* ("relief-giving"). Each department has its own executive or office administrator who

directs the work which the social case workers carry out in the different districts. There is also an executive who is responsible for the family welfare work as such, who, so to speak, unifies the services of the three different departments. Fifty-two family case workers are appointed in Nuremberg to carry on the outdoor case work of these three departments along undifferentiated or non-specialized lines. However, each department also has social workers trained in special fields and others who are spoken of as "untrained" on the social work side but who have had practical experience in special problems. They are considered specialists who look after difficult cases for which the family welfare worker cannot take time and which in many cases may also be too difficult for her. But although in Nuremberg there is this provision for some cases along the lines of the old specialization, this is not the case in all cities that work under the undifferentiated case-work plan. These specialized workers consist of child welfare workers who look after the difficult cases of delinquency, special nurses for advanced tuberculosis, someone for the more difficult psychopathic and mental cases, and finally someone for difficult cases of venereal diseases and severe cases of inebriety. The general case worker is particularly responsible for health and child welfare problems. When problems of relief arise in the families in which she is already active she looks after those herself. In cases, however, where the problem is one of relief-giving only, this responsibility is delegated to men who are experienced as administrators but not trained and generally not experienced as social workers.

In each of the twenty-six districts there is a welfare center, from which all the work is carried on. These welfare centers of Nuremberg are variously arranged, and some much more attractively than others. Most of them, however, are very pleasant places; a special effort is made to make them cheerful with flowers, pictures, and posters, and it goes without saying that they are also very clean and neat. There is an office for the director, a committee room for monthly meetings of the volunteer workers, a special writing-room for the family welfare workers of the district, where reports are made and new cases are left for them. The physician serving the welfare needs of the district through the school and the infant welfare stations, etc., is to have his office at the center, too, in time. There are also



three consultation rooms, arranged alphabetically, where the families apply for aid and where the "first interviews" are taken and the case recorded.

Applications are first investigated and reported on by an official who is untrained. Whether the case is delegated to one of the trained social workers or to one of the untrained officials or to a volunteer is a matter left for the director of the center to determine. If the case is to be carried over a period of time, it is usually given to a volunteer. In most cases the director is not a trained social worker, and one questions whether there is not a great deal of misinterpretation in sorting the cases to determine whether a case is primarily in need of relief as such or whether relief is perhaps only the most obvious problem under which often other social problems are buried and which should, therefore, be handled by a trained social worker instead of by a person who is simply a good administrator. The ideal and the aim is, of course, to have the director of a center a person who is efficient as an administrator but who is also experienced and trained as a social worker. Here and there one finds such an arrangement.

#### GENERAL TASKS OF THE WELFARE WORKER

Among the tasks outlined for the social worker one finds in a report of the Nuremberg welfare center the following:

Each worker should acquaint herself with the social conditions in her district to see where preventive work is necessary, as well as to care for cases needing immediate correction. She is responsible for using the volunteers in her district who are willing to give their services. If no volunteers offer their services, the social worker must interest them.

She must stimulate interest in self-help and self-support in her clients. It is her duty to co-operate with all welfare workers rendering specialized service in her district. Co-operation is also expected with other welfare efforts in her district, especially with the school and the private social agencies.

#### THE SPECIFIC TASKS OF THE FAMILY WELFARE WORKER

1. *Home visits.*—The purpose of these is to determine the needs of the case and the causes of such need; to advise regarding health, child welfare, and relief problems, also problems arising from poor household management.

Work in the nature of personal service as bedside nursing and housekeeping are not her tasks, only in so far as she may put the family in touch with the proper agencies or persons rendering such service. Exceptional cases, of course, might arise where she would step in.

## UNDIFFERENTIATED CASE WORK IN GERMANY 625

Visits are to be made to families of another district only in exceptional cases.

*When home visits are made.*—This is determined partly by the worker herself and partly upon request of the departments which she serves.

All cases of illegitimacy, as well as newly born children who come out of very poor surroundings, should be visited immediately after notice of their birth has been received; the rest of the births regarding which notice has been received from the birth registration bureau should be visited within the first month.

Illegitimate children, also foster children, or children of parents living in questionable surroundings, should be visited at least every month during the first year; from two to six years of age at least every four months and if it appears necessary also oftener.

In the case of children who come from well-ordered households and who are regularly brought to the health centers for infant welfare and who seem to thrive, the number of visits made may be lessened.

Older foster children and children under the guardianship of the court are to be visited regularly and not less than every six months.

2. *Consultation with the client.*—The welfare worker has regular hours for consultation with the clients. She advises the client regarding all sources of available help, especially in the field of public and private welfare work, and puts the person in touch with the proper sources.

3. *Work in connection with the infant welfare centers.*<sup>1</sup>—The family welfare worker attends and assists regularly at the infant welfare centers according to the requirements laid down by the center.

4. *Visits to the school.*—The family welfare worker keeps regular consultation hours in the school in the interest of the school children or otherwise visits there regularly. She visits the classes at the request of the teacher or when she deems it advisable (with previous permission of the school authorities).

She reports regularly to the school physician regarding the school cases which he has authorized her to follow up.

Keeping records of the school children under medical care is the duty of the physician's assistant, but there should be close co-operation between her and the family welfare worker.

5. *Work with the volunteer helper in cases of juvenile care and health work.*—The family welfare worker should help the volunteers in the tasks assigned to them.

6. *Organizing meetings for mothers and planning recreational interests as play groups, reading-circles, etc.*—Evening meetings for mothers should be held in every section in which a given family welfare worker is active; whether or not recreational group interests are promoted is left to the judgment of the worker.

<sup>1</sup> The German name for these centers is *Mütterberatungsstellen* (literally, "centers for advice to mothers"), but the American name is used here as more convenient.

All such efforts must previously be registered with the central officer of family welfare.<sup>1</sup>

7. *Office routine.*—Making reports, keeping the current records up to date, and sending in regularly the required statistics are part of her task.

8. *Participation in meetings.*—Finally she is required to attend regularly conferences called by the family welfare division, meetings of the welfare committee of the district of which she is a member, as well as other discussions and committee meetings to which a welfare worker is invited because of her position.

With the many and varied tasks which fall upon the welfare worker and with the heavy case load which she is obliged to carry, it has not been possible to adhere strictly to the original plan that all social services without exception be rendered for a given family by the family case worker of the district. The tendency in most cities where this undifferentiated case work is established is like the practice already described in Nuremberg, that is, to have special officials, who are usually without social work training but are persons with administrative experience, care for all cases where the problem is one of relief-giving only, and where only one person is involved and not a family. A word should be said about relief-giving. This is a large part of the welfare work of today, owing to the fact that so many men and women are out of employment and yet do not qualify for unemployment insurance. Post-war conditions have also left many groups in need of public aid who would have been living in comfortable circumstances except for the monetary devaluation.<sup>2</sup> Then, too, in Nuremberg and in most other cities there are social workers, some trained and some untrained, who take over the responsibility of cases of single individuals requiring long continued care involving habitual delinquency, inebriety, etc.; but the case of a family generally remains in the hands of the trained social worker.

<sup>1</sup> The 1926 report of the family welfare administration of Nuremberg states that a number of family welfare workers have instigated play groups, juvenile reading circles, meetings for mothers, etc., as a result of their own interest in the neighborhood. In a number of cases the social workers met the necessary cost themselves. To encourage this interest and good work, the administration has since made an allowance.

<sup>2</sup> See the preceding number of this *Review*, p. 406, Elisabet von Harnack, "Germany's New Public Welfare Law."

## UNDIFFERENTIATED CASE WORK IN GERMANY 627

### STATISTICAL FACTS REGARDING THE CASES HANDLED

The following statistics, taken from the July, 1927, number of the *Wohlfahrtsblätter* of the city of Nuremberg,<sup>1</sup> gives a picture of the extent of the work of the public welfare department, the kind of cases which are most numerous, the case load of different family case workers, and the most frequent causal factors giving rise to the problems dealt with.

Over a period of nine months in 1926-27 the current cases carried each quarter stood as follows: for the quarter ending on June 30, 1926, 7,939 cases; on September 30, 1926, 8,244 cases; on December 31, 1926, 9,042 cases; and on March 31, 1927, 9,483 cases.

The report explains that there may perhaps be two reasons for the steady increase in number of cases: (1) because in the beginning the statistics were not quite so carefully kept, and (2) chiefly because there is an increase in charitable cases every year during the winter months.

The different kinds of cases found are grouped under three different heads: (1) *Erziehungsfürsorge* ("child welfare"), which includes chiefly such cases as foster children, minors under the guardianship of the court, and cases of delinquency, or cases where special education and supervision must be given to the minor; (2) *Gesundheitsfürsorge* ("health"), which includes such cases as the care of the infant and mother, the pre-school child, children in need of convalescent care, children needing special watching at the request of the school physicians, cripples, tuberculous children, etc.; (3) *Wirtschaftlichefürsorge* ("economic problems"). For further explanation of the statistical material it might be said that if in a given family there is not only an infant who is under the supervision of the infant welfare clinic but also a child of school age under probation in the court, but supported by the welfare department, then such a case would be counted under all three divisions, *Gesundheits-, Erziehungs-, and Wirtschaftlichefürsorge*.

The statistical facts regarding the distribution of the cases in these groupings and over a period of three months is given in Table I.

The report presents also a further analysis, which shows that the

<sup>1</sup> "Zahlen aus der Familienfürsorge," Dr. Elsbeth Georgi (director of the family welfare work in the city of Nuremberg).

largest percentage, 62.6, consists of those cases where two or three kinds of problems according to the foregoing groupings are involved; of the remaining number the largest, or 18.5 per cent, involve exclu-

TABLE I

SERVICE GROUPINGS	CASES FOR THE QUARTER ENDING						
	June 30, 1926 Number	Septem- ber 30, 1926 Number	Decem- ber 31, 1926 Number	MARCH 31, 1927		AVERAGE	
				Number	Per Cent Distribution	Number	Per Cent Distribution
Total Classes 1, 2, and 3 . . . .	7,939	8,244	9,042	9,483	100.0	8,677	100.0
Total Class 1 . . . . .	3,210	3,260	3,571	3,556	37.4	3,399	39.2
1. Where each case applies to only one grouping							
a) Only problems of depend- ency and delinquency ( <i>Er- ziehungsfürsorge</i> ) . . . . .	1,876	1,955	1,885	1,757	18.5	1,868	21.5
b) Only health problems ( <i>Ge- sundheitsfürsorge</i> ) . . . . .	941	876	1,290	1,425	15.0	1,133	13.1
c) Only relief ( <i>Wirtschaftliche- fürsorge</i> ) . . . . .	393	429	396	374	3.9	398	4.6
Total Class 2 . . . . .	3,113	3,262	3,493	3,779	39.9	3,412	39.3
2. Where a case is included under two groupings							
a) Problems of dependency and delinquency plus health problems . . . . .	1,014	1,136	1,213	1,395	14.7	1,190	13.7
b) Delinquency and depend- ency plus relief . . . . .	907	911	912	1,002	10.6	933	10.8
c) Health and relief . . . . .	1,192	1,215	1,368	1,382	14.6	1,289	14.8
3. Where a case is included under all three groupings . . . . .	1,616	1,722	1,978	2,148	22.7	1,866	21.5

sively problems of delinquency and dependency, whereas 15.0 per cent are exclusively problems of health, and the remainder, a very small per cent, 3.9, exclusively involve problems of relief.

#### UNDIFFERENTIATED CASE WORK A SAVING IN PERSONNEL

It is further pointed out that by handling all the problems in a given family through a single case worker there is a great saving of personnel. The figures in Table II are taken from the report issued March 31, 1927, showing, in terms of active cases, the number requiring more than one form of service.

# UNDIFFERENTIATED CASE WORK IN GERMANY 629

The report shows that for the 9,483 cases cared for by the family welfare workers in this given month, 22,451 services were required, and had the cases been handled by case workers who are only specialists in given fields, it would have resulted in at least 22,451 separate

TABLE II

SERVICE GROUPING	GRAND TOTAL OF SERVICES		NUMBER OF SERVICES PER FAMILY		
	Number	Per Cent* of All Cases	A Single Service	Two Services	Three Services
Total .....	22,451		3,556	7,558	11,337
Problems of dependency and delinquency ..	7,933	83	1,757	2,397	3,779
Health problems .....	7,981	84	1,425	2,777	3,779
Relief problems .....	6,537	68	374	2,384	3,779

\* The percentage is in terms of the total 9,483 cases.

TABLE III

DISTRICTS	NUMBER OF CASES		
	TOTAL		Average Number of Cases for One Worker
	Number	Per Cent Distribution	
Total .....	9,483	100.0	185
Old section of city .....	1,220	12.9	203
South .....	2,720	28.7	226
West .....	1,456	15.4	145
North .....	1,483	15.6	185
Northeast .....	1,263	13.3	157
East .....	1,135	11.9	189
Eibach .....	206	2.2	206

cases, which in turn would have called for at least twice the number of case workers employed.

## THE CASE LOAD OF THE INDIVIDUAL

The case load of the welfare worker is exceedingly heavy, especially when one considers that more than half of her time is given to other responsibilities, as already enumerated. The number of cases during the month of March, for instance, were distributed among the family case workers as given in Table III.

The great difference in the number of cases allotted to the different workers, the report explains, is due to the differences in distance, transportation service, varied social problems in the districts, and the fact that some workers serve also as assistants to the school physician.

Social work under public auspices has been extensively developed in Germany since the post-war public welfare law (*Fürsorge Pflicht Verordnung*)<sup>1</sup> went into effect in 1924. In most cities there will be found at least one trained social worker to every 10,000 or 12,000 population, plus 10 or more volunteers, and here and there special workers for especially difficult cases.

The undifferentiated case-work method had its origin perhaps in two sources: (1) in the realization of the probably bad effect on a family if several different persons appeared as family counselors sent to deal with their problems, and especially if the different counselors dealt with the family at about the same time and often without close co-operation; (2) because it was considered an economy for the public administration to have the family welfare workers trained as general practitioners of social problems arising in a family and to have specialists for particular problems to supplement the family case worker when necessary.

It is interesting to recall that the first point was emphasized fifteen years ago in a very interesting paper by Miss Susan Lawrence, now a member of the British Parliament, on "The Unnecessary Multiplication of Officials."<sup>2</sup> Miss Lawrence, out of her experience as a member of the Education Committee of the London County Council, cited some very distressing cases of families visited by various public welfare officials representing different but closely allied services. She proposed a single set of public welfare officials with sufficiently broad training to perform more than one set of functions. Each worker would then be responsible for all the public services for a small area and would have a real understanding of all the problems of all the families she served.

What Miss Lawrence proposed for London fifteen years ago has

<sup>1</sup> See the article by Dr. Elisabet von Harnack in the preceding number of this Review already referred to.

<sup>2</sup> *The Crusade*, III (1912-13), 126-29.



actually come to pass in many German cities. Whether or not the system is as successful in practice as she had hoped is another and more difficult question, for it is not easy to determine the efficiency of this method of undifferentiated case work at present, and one feels that it is necessary to suspend judgment. An interesting social experiment is in progress, the results of which are not yet clear. It certainly has points in its favor theoretically if the system is well administered and if a sufficient number of well-trained social workers are available who know how and when to use the specialists who are at their service. It is difficult to judge the efficiency at present because all the social workers are much overburdened with the number of cases each must carry. As the economic situation improves, there will be the opportunity to do more intensive work with the individual case.

BERLIN

FRANCELIA STUENKEL

## SOURCE MATERIALS

### AFTER MANY DAYS

#### THE CASE OF EDWARD CAHILL

##### FOREWORD

We have few opportunities to measure the results of our work. A request from the Eastern Penitentiary for information about a man who years ago, as a boy, had been in the care of the Children's Village of the Seybert Institution for about a month seemed to warrant more than passing consideration. Our original contact was brief and casual. The story of his plight does not reflect credit on the part which social workers were able to play in his life. Good understanding social work at the beginning would, in all probability, have directed Edward into more of that kind of self-control which we all need, and of which he had a lot, but not quite enough.

J. PRENTICE MURPHY

CHILDREN'S BUREAU OF PHILADELPHIA

To the desk of the Executive Secretary of the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia there came recently this communication, addressed to the Seybert Institute, from the Eastern Penitentiary:

We have received a prisoner, Edward Cahill,<sup>1</sup> who was sentenced 6-24-27 to this penitentiary—to 1½-3 years—for entering with intent to steal and larceny, who, we understand, served a term of two months in your institution for larceny, having been sentenced about 1915.

The letter is accompanied by finger prints of the prisoner, and by a photograph—full face and profile—with his number conspicuously on the shoulder. The youth is unshaven and the beard gives him a strangely quaint, old-fashioned look—an innocent look. It is not a bad face, nor even weak; it is a good face.

The Children's Bureau record says merely:

"10-2-15. Application made by the Juvenile Court for Seybert care for Edward," and on same date, the court "committed Edward to Seybert—report in one month." The record adds, "See letters for information."

<sup>1</sup> The family names are fictitious.

This entry evidently refers to a page-and-a-half report from the Juvenile Court, and the following correspondence with Edward's father:

Kindly sign the inclosed slip and return to me as quickly as possible as Edward should have his tonsils and adenoids removed. This is not a serious operation, as it is necessary for the patient to remain but thirty-six hours in the hospital.

To this Edward's father replies:

If anything is rong with Edward we will take him to our doctor to be examined. I will not consent to the operation.

The Juvenile Court report reveals that Edward is fifteen and the eldest of seven children; that his parents are Roman Catholics and of American birth; that the family formerly lived in Gloucester, New Jersey, but now lives in Philadelphia, and his father works in a cloth mill. It then continues:

On 3-30-14 Edward Cahill was arrested by special officers T., and B., charged with highway robbery.

A highway robber at thirteen! What more could a live boy ask?

Edward is placed on probation and loses no time in seeking more thrills: "On 5-11-14 he was again arrested, charged with larceny of a pocketbook and cement." A pocketbook, certainly, but why the cement? Did his feeling for drama desert him, or has he a sense of humor? But perhaps he didn't do it, for "there was no evidence against Edward."

Here follows a blank of nearly a year. Perhaps Edward tires of the sport; perhaps he has grown more clever with experience; perhaps he never was a highway robber at all; or perhaps he likes his probation officer. The report throws no light on these questions, but leaps to: "4-11-15. Edward was arrested, charged with larceny of money." It transpires that "Another boy took the money and he claimed Edward put him up to it." Edward denied this, however. He is continued on probation after a mental examination at the house of detention. The diagnosis is given as:

Tentative: normal—very dull. Memory fair; general information fair to poor; reasoning slow but fair. Our teacher thinks he is educable. His appearance is against him, which is due to eyestrain and consequent crossed eye. Boy protests innocence.

A later examination, dated September 25, 1916, states that boy "was in the 4B grade (special) when he left. He reads well in the 5th grade. Could do 4th-grade arithmetic with a little practice. Effort and concentration good. Has been out of school." The psychologist says, "A conscien-

tious worker and one who we feel is truly repentant and sincere in his intentions to do well."

Physically, the boy was found to be much in need of glasses, which he had but which were broken. Tonsillectomy and circumcision were recommended.

On June 21, 1916, the probation officer recommended Edward's discharge from probation, as "he is working well, and taking up stenography at night."

Alas! the report continues: "9-25-16. Edward was arrested, charged with forcible entry and larceny." Things begin to look black for Edward, for "an officer stated that this boy had entered a number of places recently and done a great deal of damage." The record then goes into causes: "The home conditions are good, although the father is too severe and the mother too lenient."

The case comes into court. Clearly something must be done about Edward. But what? It is decided to commit him to Seybert. To report in one month.

So, with this information as a guide, the Seybert Institute keeps Edward in the Joint Shelter for two weeks and then sends him to the Children's Village at Meadowbrook and sets about his reformation. But there is to be a report in one month, so on October 31, 1916, in response to an urgent reminder from the court, the superintendent writes as follows:

Would say that the boy's conduct has been very good. He is polite, a willing worker, and has given no trouble whatever during his two weeks' stay at the Children's Village.

So on November 17, 1916, the Court "discharged Edward from Seybert to father on probation."

If that were the whole story, well and good. But to tell the whole story, we must go back a little.

In the early part of December, 1914, Edward's mother wrote a letter of distress to a prominent society woman. Mr. Cahill had been out of work for ten weeks, and Mrs. Cahill felt that the wealthy lady, of whose benevolent work she had been reading in the papers, might be glad to keep the little Cahills from getting too hungry if she knew about it. She was quite right. The lady felt that the matter should be looked into, so had her secretary write Mrs. Cahill referring her to a relief agency to which she is a liberal contributor. To make certain that there should be no mistake, she also communicated with the relief agency.

The secretary of the agency lost no time in responding to the appeal. She visited within two days. Her description of Mrs. Cahill as "of me-

dium height and build with dark brown hair and grey eyes" is not unpleasant. She states that "the children, who were running about the room when visitor went in, were sent by the mother into the back room with many threats and harsh words . . . during visit children seemed to be quite unruly in back of house."

Mrs. Cahill told the visitor that her husband is a rigger by trade; also a weaver—not exactly an unskilled laborer. For a number of years had worked for a shipbuilding company, but when work was slack in Gloucester had been in the habit of coming to Philadelphia to work at his other trade. So when, in December, 1913, 3,000 men were laid off by the shipbuilding company, the family moved to Philadelphia. Mr. Cahill secured work which lasted till ten weeks ago. "Since then he has had nothing." Poor Mrs. Cahill should not have said that; it was not quite true.

The visitor tells Mrs. Cahill that she must see her husband. That very noon he reports at the office. He artlessly divulges that he has work after all. Has worked as a substitute for about a week for which he was paid \$6 the day before, but "most of this" had to be used to pay a debt to the grocer. Later inquiry revealed that Mrs. Cahill did not pay the grocer, but asked him to wait, as she had to use the money for the rent.

The secretary communicated with former employers. The shipbuilding company replied, "This man was hired 10-10-10 and he was laid off 6-28-13—worked as a rigger." From the superintendent of a Philadelphia mill the secretary learned that he loaned Mr. Cahill money to move and pay rent when family came from Gloucester; that Mr. Cahill kept saying he expected to come into a little money in the spring, and would repay the loan. "This he did finally, and about the same time displayed in the mills a hundred-dollar bill, saying he had something between \$300 and \$400 left him."

The secretary felt that the family could be in no desperate need; but just a week before Christmas comes a letter from Mrs. Cahill saying,

Dear Friend—Kindly let me know if I cant get any relief I need coal I have 2 children from school on account of shoes my husband has been home all week with a sprand hand I had to barrow money this week for eatting I owe 3 months rent. I gess I will have to apply to Mrs. ——— again kindly let me know.

This brings immediate action: an order of groceries is sent. Also a Christmas dinner and toys. The effect of this on the little Cahills is not recorded, although a visit was made three days later. The secretary found that Mr. Cahill made \$8 last week, \$5 of which went for rent. She advises Mrs. Cahill to apply to her church if again in need. Nothing more is

heard from the family, so it is assumed that all is well, and in April the curtain is rung down.

But, as all social workers know, cases have an uncanny way of staging another act just as you think the play is ended. So, on April 9, comes information that Willie, Edward's brother, has been around asking for work during school hours. Was asked if he was hungry, and said, "No," but his mother had been sick; had had the doctor.

The secretary hastens to visit. Mrs. Cahill appears at the door looking quite well, but admits that she was confined a month before. Had only a midwife. Willie's mother had not known that he was out of school, and is properly distressed. "She claimed that Mr. Cahill is very particular about the children and when he knows of Willie's performance . . . will whip him soundly . . . they have had some trouble with the child before. Mrs. Cahill was most grateful for having been told of this, and will use every measure to correct the child's tendency in this direction." Willie is six years old at this time.

Willie's difficulties being adjusted, the secretary again rests the case. She rests it for four months, and then makes an entry: "Not needing assistance." No doubt she was very busy, so cannot be blamed for failing to heed a little slip from the Social Service Exchange, dated April 1, 1914, and saying "Known to House of Detention." If she saw it, probably she guessed, rightly, that this referred to Edward. Edward never appears in the records of the relief society. After all, he was not a family problem—or was he?

Ten years pass. After Edward is again placed on probation following his sojourn at the Children's Village there is no sight or sound of the family until 1924. Then the Social Service Exchange begins to send out little warning signals: "4-23-24 known to Big Brother Asso." Who is known? Why, William, to be sure, continuing the career he chose for himself at the age of six, succeeds in getting arrested twenty-two times before he is sent to a reformatory.

Again: "7-16-25 cross-reference—Cahill, Ellen, and Fred Hill, paramour—known to ——— Hospital." Obviously, Edward's sister. The hospital reports that the case was handled for the court of domestic relations. The record says: "Patient left school at 14; went to work as a winder. In June left work because of her condition. At hearing, man pleaded guilty, etc." The record continues that Ellen was afraid her father would never permit her to return home with an illegitimate child; that the court worker did find him very obdurate. But evidently his objections were overruled, for "Patient was discharged to father."

Family relief agency, Juvenile Court, Children's Bureau and Shelter, Children's Village, Juvenile Court again, Big Brothers, Court of Domestic Relations, hospital social service and hospital—peering through the records and reports of these various agencies one longs for a little more light. We catch a glimpse of a well-meaning skilled workman, giving attention, according to his lights, to the raising of his children. There is a faint image of a none too truthful or wise mother. Edward shows up in the report of the Children's Village in a wholly favorable light, and William, at six, would seem to have been a very enterprising little boy with plenty of initiative. Otherwise there are no pictures of the individual children, and of stage settings there are none.

One wonders if the little Cahills were neatly dressed. Was the house clean? Were there carpets on the floor? Did they have, not a radio, but a victrola or a music box or whatever it was we had back in 1914? Did Edward ever get his tonsils out or relief from eyestrain? We don't know.

Is this vagueness a reflection of the work of the agencies? We cannot but suspect that it is. They all knew about the family. But did anyone really know the family?

Clang goes the thick, metal, postern door, and the great bolts slide into place. A deep, lofty arch, wrapped in medieval gloom and barred by two more doors, through the heavy gratings of which appears a barren courtyard. Opening out at the side, through another grating, a long, dingy corridor, covered, incongruously, with a frayed strip of rag carpet.

At the end of the corridor, a narrow room, divided down the center by a wall, breast high, with heavy wire mesh above. Behind the netting a row of men. A packed mass of visitors facing them, a deafening babel of voices.

"Edward Cahill," shouts the guard. A new face appears back of the netting, a little blurred by the light streaming from behind.

It is a good face. And not a weak face—almost a handsome face. Clean-shaven, now, lean-jawed, well-proportioned, matching the lithe, broad-shouldered, muscular body. It is the face of an alert, composed, good-tempered man. Only the eyes, with a glad light in them, are the eyes of the boy who went to Meadowbrook Farm.

"I just couldn't imagine who wanted to see me. My folks were here yesterday, and I didn't think anybody else had enough interest in me.

"Seybert? Oh, yes! You bet I remember. Meadowbrook sure was a nice place—just like a home. There was one teacher there—she sure was fine—wish I could see her. They give me a licking once out there



(grinning)—can't remember what for now. But I sure did like it out there.

"No I never was here before, but I was in Huntingdon fifteen months. That was when I was seventeen, pretty soon after I left Seybert. No, not quite the same thing as this time. It was a kind of a mixed up affair—I was in with a lot of other boys.

"Treated me fine up to Huntingdon—it was sort of like a school. 'Course there were some pretty tough chaps up there. And we didn't get out any. It was worse than here—in all the time. Here we get exercise in the yard and they let us put on boxing matches and all like that. Well, at Huntingdon I learned to play the cornet—played in concerts. It was great.

"After I got out of Huntingdon, I did fine for five years. Learned weaving and worked steady whenever I wasn't laid off. That's the trouble with weaving. Except for the long hours, it's fine when you got work, but you can't depend on it. Then when you don't have anything to do, you get reckless—go out for a good time and get into trouble. Yes, I was arrested a few times—for being drunk, not for taking things, understand.

"Trouble with me was I got in with a bad lot and got to drinking. I don't care for the stuff—see? But you do it to be a good fellow. After you've had one drink, you don't care how many you take and first thing you know, you're crazy drunk. No, there wasn't any girls in the party—I don't go in for girls. Not that I hate 'em, understand! (smiling).

"Thing I got in here for—I was drunk, like I say, and I went in my uncle's house and took his watch and some money. Didn't know a thing about it till afterwards. Was arrested for being drunk. In the morning, at the police station, there was this complaint from my uncle that he'd been robbed. They searched me and found the stuff. When I see the watch I recognized it. I wouldn't 'ave taken it if I'd known what I was doin'—not from me own uncle.

"My uncle did try to help me when he found it was me—least he says he did. But it seemed like he couldn't do anything, once he'd made the charge. Tells us if we'll get a lawyer and pay the charges maybe he can do something yet. I guess me father's going to see what he can do.

"I blame the drink for this, and I was led into that. No, I wasn't always led—some of those first times I got in by myself. I just got myself to blame.

"My father? Oh, we get along fine—always did. The old man's all right. He's comin' to see me soon as he can. They have to take turns. Only three can come at once. Yesterday, my mother and my sister and my brother and my sister's baby come. Yes, m'sister's baby sure is cute.

"Expect my mother does take this hard, but she don't show it—not when she comes here. Keeps up for my sake, I guess.

"Family's getting along fine. Well, William—he did get in a little trouble a while back. He's home now. Don't know whether he's on parole or not. It was him that was here yesterday.

"There's nine of us—let's see, my little brother's six, or seven now. I always lived home. Never paid board—just handed over me pay envelope. Knew I could get five dollars any time I wanted it and I was shrewd enough to see if I kept it I'd just spend it. Besides, the folks needed it.

"Yes, my father's workin' now. He's in upholstery—tapestry weaving you know. I'm a cloth weaver.

"I'm workin' at my trade here. We work mornings, eight to one. It's just play. I only have one loom and I could handle four easy. I'd rather work all day—passes the time. We fool around afternoons and exercise. Read some. I never was much of a hand to read. Just like some kinds of books, like Booth Tarkington's say. But I've read several books here I never knew there was (grinning with very evident appreciation of his limitations).

"It does seem a long time when I think of a year and a half of this. I'll be twenty-seven when I get out. Yesterday was my birthday; I was twenty-six. Yes, my mother brought me a safety razor. I had one birthday while I was in Huntingdon, but I'll pass two here.

"Think when I get out I'll get me a chicken farm. Keep me out of mischief. And I'd have something more dependable. Take about a thousand dollars, but I can save it in a year if I work steady. Once I saved up \$48 in three weeks. Oh, spent it then, but I didn't need to. Yes, I know I'd have to read up a lot about chickens. I'd do that.

"I certainly do appreciate being remembered like this. I don't know as there's anything you can do—except write to me. I'd like that mighty well. I'd answer. And I would like you to go and see my folks.

"It certainly does look like a long time to be here—but I'll just have to take my medicine. If I could have stayed at Meadowbrook two or three years, now—maybe things would have been different."

The Cahills live in the textile district on a modest side street, narrow but by no means a slum. The door opens upon a room overflowing with young people, ranging in age from "sister's baby," who is indeed "cute," to extremely attractive young ladies with dark bobbed hair, Irish blue eyes, and natural complexions. Mrs. Cahill ushers the guest to the dining-room.

"Oh," says Mrs. Cahill, "from the Seybert, yes!" her face lighting.

"Now that was real kind. I'm sure Edward was glad to see you." Mrs. Cahill still has brown hair, but streaked with gray. She is erect and immaculate in a simple print gown, and scarcely looks her fifty years. Her face is kind, but not very capable, not very shrewd. She talks a great deal. But she does not say much.

The stage settings are surprising; it is a home. There are not carpets; there are rugs. There is a front room and a dining-room that is too good for the purpose, so the next room is the dining-room. This has a clean, white cloth on the table, and no crumbs. It looks nice and lived in, but orderly. The front rooms are full of furniture, good furniture. The house has been remodeled. A stairway goes up from the middle room with a colonial effect. There are draperies in the arches and white curtains at the windows. There are electric lights, not gas.

But more surprising is it to learn who is largely responsible for all this elaborate scenery. Why, Edward! Edward's wages, always turned over in full. Edward, doing electric wiring, connecting the gas range, fixing plumbing. Edward, even helping to clean house and hanging curtains—measuring them with a tape to be sure that they are even. Edward, who, if he sees a hat on the table, calls the offender to hang it up. "The girls call him 'Sally' and 'Grand-dad,' but he just laughs when they tease him."

"The children mind him better than they do their father," Mrs. Cahill confides. "He certainly is a good boy, only for the drinkin'. His father's just broken-hearted. Won't go to see him—says he can't, it would make him feel too bad." She adds that her husband is getting to be an old man; that Edward is the real head of the family. "Mr. Cahill can't earn like he used to." Only two children are working now—two of the girls. William—"Well, Willie ain't like Edward. He never learned a trade—just does odd jobs." It appears that William is the real black sheep. And there are four children in school yet.

Mrs. Cahill is still prone to departures from strict fact. She remarks, gratuitously, "My girls never give me a minute's worry." The oldest girl is married now; a casual question brings this information. Lives near by. This seems to be true; the baby has its things on to go home. Edward always made a great fuss over the baby, from when it was born, they all say. "It knew him the other day—showed it plain." It is six months old.

Much of all this is later confirmed by Mr. Cahill, brought in by the children from the square, where he has gone for his evening stroll. He arrives, a little red-faced and breathless. At first glance one might suspect that he had had a drink. But there is no liquor on his breath. He is inclined to be stout. He has a round, infantile face and pink complexion.

He might be a genial butcher or grocer. But now and then his lips set in a thin, straight line. For a moment he is a stubborn old Irishman. His hair is gray, and his thick shoulders sag a little. Mrs. Cahill is right: he is almost an old man, at fifty.

"Yes, Edward's a good boy," says Mr. Cahill. "It's awful his bein' there. Why, look at all he had on his shoulders—this big family. My work ain't so good now; only three days a week. We just depended on his wages. Always turned over every cent.

"Edward's got good larnin'. He got books and studied out about electric wirin'. He's awful smart about anything mechanical. And he's a good boy around home."

They are proud of Edward in other ways. His cornet playing, for instance. After he came out of Huntingdon, he and his cousin (son of the very uncle who prosecuted him) played in a series of concerts given to raise money for a new Catholic church in the neighborhood. "Never got a cent out of it themselves."

They confirm Edward's statement that for the first five years after he left Huntingdon he went straight. The trouble seems to have started in the last two years. He got to drinking and was arrested several times and locked up over night, but never took a thing till this last time.

"I keep tellin' him to leave the drink alone," says Mr. Cahill, "but it seems like he can't say no. Now, me, I'm afraid of this bootleg stuff. Why, I could be drunk every day, if I wanted to."

"Trouble with Edward," says Mrs. Cahill, "he's too good natured. He's easy led."

They both think he has had his lesson now. There are signs that Mr. Cahill, too, may have had his lesson. They are worried about Edward's health. "His lungs ain't none too strong. He chokes up awful easy and gets a cough." No, it seems, Edward never did get his tonsils out. "But I've often thought maybe I'd ought to have had it done, that time. They say, nowadays, it ain't nothin'. Guess I made a mistake." Edward did have glasses as a boy, which were always in his pocket, but does not wear them now. "And I guess he needs 'em, because he has trouble with one eye at his work. That work ain't none too good for him either; needs an outside job. He always wanted to be a policeman, but I opposed it because it's so dangerous."

"Yes, it would 'a' been better than this. I've knowed young men as didn't amount to anything who got on the force and it made men of 'em." To the suggestion that perhaps Edward's prison record would bar him: "No, I don't hardly think so. There's ways of gettin' around those things—there's ways."

They return to the question of Edward's arrest. Why did they do nothing? Well, there were several reasons, some obscure. The uncle was mad at first and wanted it to go through. When they got a note from the Prison Society suggesting that they see the uncle and get him to intervene, he wouldn't. They might have persuaded him, but the hearing came before any of them expected it to. Mrs. Cahill only heard of it half an hour before, and then by chance. When she got there it was all over.

Mrs. Cahill adds that Edward's uncle owes her a great deal. She nursed his wife through her last illness. She had a tumor, and it was very trying work. The uncle is very grateful and says himself that he guesses his wife would turn over in her grave if she knew about this.

The uncle says now that he was given no opportunity to testify or he would have told how Edward had been like a son to him; how he had been in his house hundreds of times with money lying all about, and never took a thing. But Edward pleaded guilty, and the uncle did not feel that he could talk to the judge unless he was asked. Now the uncle says he is terribly sorry and will do anything—sign a paper or go to the judge with a lawyer. But, says Mr. Cahill, the uncle is a committeeman; it would never do for him to approach the judge himself. The logic of this is not clear, but Mr. Cahill seems unable to elucidate.

Mr. Cahill continues that he cannot do anything himself because he has not lived in the ward long enough to be known to the ward leader. As for a lawyer, Mr. Cahill has no money for a lawyer. The uncle thinks the fee wouldn't be over ten or fifteen dollars, but he knows better. It is pointed out that a much larger fee would be less than the loss of Edward's wages for a year and a half. This has its appeal. Money talks with the Cahills.

Mr. and Mrs. Cahill love their first-born; they are proud of him. But like the statisticians, they tend to value him in terms of dollars and cents—of his economic value to the family. And they are not psychologists. How can they—or Edward, for that matter—be expected to know that when a virile young man of twenty-five tries to devote himself exclusively to the welfare of those under the parental roof something is liable to break loose?

BLANCHE J. PAGET

NOTE.—Subsequent investigation completely confirms the truth of this picture. The case is to be presented to the Pardon Board.

The Seybert Institution, now known as the Seybert Institute, gave up its institution in 1915. Practically all its income is now used to provide foster-family care for children through the Children's Bureau of Philadelphia.—J.P.M.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

**N**EWs from the American Association of Social Workers includes first the appointment of a new secretary, Walter M. West, formerly secretary of the Family Service Society of Columbus, Ohio. New proposals regarding membership requirements and an interesting plan sponsored by Mr. Ralph G. Hurlin, head of the Department of Statistics of the Russell Sage Foundation, for an informal census of social workers to be taken under the auspices of the Association are also announced. Social workers are already under obligations to Mr. Hurlin for his unique contributions to social work statistics, and the new plan under his leadership may be trusted to produce results that will justify the effort involved. Since the occupational statistics of the United States Census do not classify "social workers" as a separate occupational or professional group, there are no official statistics of the number of social workers in the country. Mr. Hurlin's estimate of a probable 25,000, reached by methods explained in his interesting paper at the Cleveland Conference (1926), is the most useful figure now available. The present proposal is to have at first an experimental enumeration undertaken in a limited number of areas in which there are active chapters of the Association. The great difficulty at present lies, of course, in the fact that the term "social worker" has not yet been defined in a way that makes it possible to determine who should be enumerated as members of the professional group and who should not. As Mr. Hurlin has said,

The first difficulty lies in the lack of definiteness in this occupational group. Where the line should be drawn is a question upon which there are many opinions. Should the social worker be defined in terms of training, or of experience, or only in terms of the position held? And what positions are to be regarded as social work positions?

**D**IFFICULT questions arise in the same way with regard to membership in the American Association of Social Workers. The present membership requirements are four years of "practical experience in social organizations of recognized standing" or a course in a school of social work plus a shorter period of experience. The first requirement, of course, raises two questions: (1) What is a "social organization of recognized standing" and (2) What kind of work must the applicant have done in the organiza-

tion? That is, is a domestic science teacher who happens to be employed in a settlement a social worker or a teacher? If she is employed in a hospital she would not *ipso facto* become a physician; she would remain a member of the home economics group until she had completed a course in medicine. But in social work the lines are frequently drawn not according to what the person knows or what he does so much as where he happens to work. That is the chief obstacle in the way of considering social work a profession. Is there a body of knowledge that social workers are expected to master either by studying in a school or by an apprenticeship? If there is not, we are clearly not a professional group. If there is such a body of knowledge, then it should be possible to draw up some statement outlining its scope.

A Committee on Revision of Membership Requirements is at work under Miss Joanna C. Colcord, of Minneapolis, as chairman. A subcommittee (Professor Frank Bruno, chairman) has already reported on the question of credit for training in professional schools of social work. That is, the Committee have first attacked the most definite of the bases for membership—the one dealing with the professional schools. The present difficulties with the provisions relating to the schools, according to the subcommittee, are the following:

1. The lack of a standard definition on the part of the training schools as to what constitutes a one- or two-year course.
2. Failure of the by-laws of the American Association of Social Workers to make provision for a partial meeting of training credits (i.e., six months or one year and a half in a training school).
3. Failure of the by-laws to make any distinction between training credits for undergraduate work, and for graduate work.

The subcommittee proposes that a "year of work" shall mean the completion of thirty semester credits in technical and field work if the work is undergraduate and twenty-four if graduate, and that one-third of the time be devoted to field work.

The Committee also recommends that, before beginning the professional courses, thirty semester credits in what are called "background sciences"—biology, psychology, economics, political science, and sociology. This may be a reasonable requirement, provided a similar general educational requirement is imposed upon applicants for membership who have not attended the schools. It would be clearly unfair to impose a requirement of this kind upon those who have had professional education and not upon those who enter the profession through some other door. The only sure way, of course, out of the membership muddle is to



follow the precedent of the German association described to us by Dr. Elisabet von Harnack, Dr. Ruth Weiland, and other German social workers who have visited this country recently. That is, require the completion of a course in a school of social work and a state examination for admission to the Association. This will be a first step toward a state-licensing system for social workers comparable to the state control over the practice of medicine, admission to the bar, and the registration of trained nurses.

A quite definite and practical suggestion is that after the year 1930, no worker who has not already had three years of experience in what we call a "standard social agency" shall be eligible for admission to the Association unless the candidate has had a year of professional study in a school of social work offering a one-year course plus a minimum experience requirement or an additional term of field work provided by a school. In the final analysis it is clear that social work will never be a profession and that social agencies can never be standardized except through the professional schools. Not until some course of professional study is required as a prerequisite for entrance can it be said that social work is really a profession.

**I**N the discussions of the Sacco-Vanzetti case, both in this country and abroad, there was a singular absence of what was perhaps the "root of all evil" in the famous case—the retention of capital punishment in most of our American states in the second quarter of the twentieth century.

One hundred and forty years ago, Dr. Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and one of the most famous physicians and philanthropists of the eighteenth century, read an important paper before the Society for Promoting Political Enquiries, which met at the home of Benjamin Franklin. Dr. Rush called his paper "An Enquiry into the Effects of Public Punishments upon Criminals and upon Society." It is distinguished as the first printed appeal for the abolition of capital punishment in America. The final paragraph is of singular interest in view of the slow movement of the great reform which Dr. Rush thought would come so much more rapidly:

Judges, attorneys, witnesses, juries and sheriffs, whose office it is to punish murder by death, I beseech you to pause, and listen to the voice of reason and religion before you convict or execute another fellow-creature for murder!

But I despair of making such an impression upon the present citizens of the United States, as shall abolish the absurd and unchristian practice. From

the connexion of this essay with the valuable documents of the late revolution contained in the American Museum, it will probably descend to posterity. To you, therefore, the unborn generations of the next century, I consecrate this humble tribute to justice. You will enjoy in point of knowledge, the meridian of a day, of which we only perceive the twilight. You will often review with equal contempt and horror, the indolence, ignorance and cruelty of your ancestors. The grossest crimes shall not exclude the perpetrators of them from your pity. You will fully comprehend the extent of the discoveries and precepts of the gospel, and you will be actuated, I hope, by its gentle and forgiving spirit. You will see many modern opinions in religion and government turned upside downwards, and many new connexions established between cause and effect. From the importance and destiny of every human soul, you will acquire new ideas of the dignity of human nature, and of the infinite value of every act of benevolence that has for its object, the bodies, the souls, and the lives of your fellow-creatures. You will love the whole human race, for you will perceive that you have a common Father, and you will learn to imitate him by converting those punishments to which their folly or wickedness have exposed them, into the means of their reformation and happiness.

**T**HE Fifty-seventh Annual Meeting of the American Prison Association was held last August at Tacoma; and, in spite of the long journey required for most of those in attendance, nearly five hundred members registered, and the meeting enjoyed the distinction of being the largest ever held west of the Rocky Mountains.

There was a very great deal of local interest in the session, and there were many notable addresses and reports. Of outstanding importance was the recommendation in the presidential address, by Dr. W. F. Penn, of Morganza, Pennsylvania, in favor of work for all prisoners at a reasonable wage and the abolition of capital punishment; the appeal of Commissioner Sanford Bates, of Massachusetts, for "more honor systems and less punishment in prisons"; and the plan described by Dr. Moore, of Rahway Reformatory, for a new kind of institution in New Jersey, where there is being erected "a village to be inhabited by offenders up to the age of thirty of normal mentality, the inmates each to have his private room with no bars on the windows and no walls surrounding. Large farms will be worked in connection with this colony and a scientific clinic will be maintained, the purpose being to adjust men so that they can again mingle with the outside world."

At the session of prison wardens, some vigorous resolutions were adopted, deploring idleness in prisons and protesting against legislation which interferes with the manufacture or sale of prison products.

Mr. E. R. Cass, secretary of the New York Prison Association, was elected president for 1928, and Kansas City was selected as the place for the next meeting.

THE celebration last October of the semi-centennial of the founding of the Buffalo Charity Organization Society may be said to commemorate the founding of social case-work methods which are now fundamental to all social-work technique. Although the meeting was held under the auspices of the Family Welfare group and attendance was largely confined to members of this group, the interest in the event which was the occasion of the celebration was much more widespread. Social workers in many fields outside the so-called family welfare societies are interested in family problems and in methods of family case work. This is true of many agencies working with dependent children, of the probation officers, of the medical and psychiatric social workers, and of many workers in the immigration field. But however lines may be drawn today or in the future, the indebtedness of social work everywhere to the pioneers of the Charity Organization Society will never be questioned. One permanent record of the celebration is the history of the Buffalo Society—a handsome brochure of 158 pages prepared by Frederic Almy, one of the veterans of the movement, and Mr. Ansley Wilcox, president of the Society and a member of the Executive Board for forty-seven years. The proceedings of the conference will be published at a later date.

THE new *Charity Organisation Quarterly*, published by the Council of the London Charity Organisation Society, will be cordially welcomed by social workers in America. It represents, in effect, the renewal of the old *Charity Organisation Review*, which for thirty-six years was a "friendly visitor" in the offices of many social agencies in this country. The *Charity Organisation Review* was one of the casualties of the war, and the new *Charity Organization Quarterly* is a welcome substitute for the old *Review* and will continue to present the point of view of the family case-work group in England with regard to social work and social policies.

THE members of the Deutscher Verband der Sozialbeamtinnen (Association of Women Social Workers in Germany) held their conference for 1927 in Thuringia with Friedrike Wieking, of Berlin, president of the Association, as chairman. The conference was attended only by members, an arrangement that seemed desirable at this time in order that problems of particular concern to the membership might be discussed

more intensively and also more informally. Although it was called an Arbeitstagung (conference for work), there was ample time for fellowship and play. The meetings were held in Elgersburg, in an old castle dating back to the eleventh century, which was not far distant from Ilmenau, a retreat favored by Goethe and his friends. In this choice spot fellowship became spontaneous, and the good effects of it were quite apparent in the free discussions at all meetings.

One entire day was given to meetings of the different committees and special groups of the Verband, including such divisions as factory welfare workers, police welfare workers, vocational guidance and employment service workers, rural social workers, those interested in questions of training for professional workers and for volunteers, and those employed in the *Familien Fürsorge* (undifferentiated case work).

The subject last named called forth a great deal of discussion, for inasmuch as most of the German cities are introducing this form of service and the details are not yet fully worked out and agreed upon, everyone was interested to learn how far the other cities had progressed in this type of work.

A large part of the conference was devoted to the question of education in social welfare work. The opening address by Frl. Luise Besser, director of the School of Social Work in Breslau, dealt with "The Possibilities and Limitations of Educational Influence"; education for family welfare work was discussed by Frl. Elizabeth Barth for the country and by Frl. Maria Sigmund-Schultze from the standpoint of a city worker; Frl. Friedrike Wieking, of Berlin, and Frl. Charlotte Wienke, from the institution for delinquent girls in Kleinbeeren, discussed the subject of education for work with delinquent girls.

Of equal interest were the problems of official recognition and rank of social workers and volunteers. In Germany public employees are all paid according to a stipulated tariff. In 1924, when the social workers were brought in under the tariff regulations, it was arranged that they would not qualify for any group above Group VI and at that time the majority were not placed in Group VI as they are now. The question raised at the conference was how and where to get further training in order to pass a further examination for admission to administrative positions and into higher salary groups; and the situation is difficult because German institutions of higher education where training for administrative work is given are often not open to women. As it is, there are a few women in the higher administrative positions: forty-five women social workers of this Association are in Group VII; six in Group VIII; two in Group IX; and one

each in Groups X and XI. The administrators, called *Beamten*, are at present mostly men with training in business methods and administration but rarely with any training in social welfare work. Although in many places the working relationships between the administrator and the social workers are very pleasant, it seems very necessary, and there is a great desire on the part of the experienced social workers, that there should be administrators who have had training in social service work. The question is, therefore, at present, where shall the women social workers get administrative training. There seems to be hope that more of the *Verwaltungs Akademien* may open to women the doors which previously have been open only to men.

Expressions of disapproval were heard over the fact that short-time training courses were being given by the Women's Branch of the Red Cross (*Vaterländischen Frauenverein des Roten-Kreuzes*) for training young people interested in volunteer work. It was complained that one city after a six months' training course was beginning to rate its student volunteers according to the Social Service tariff. It was agreed that the training of volunteers was not to be criticized but that it ought not to be considered a substitute for a substantial professional course.

Apparently the new public welfare service has its difficulties here and there, for complaints were made that in one German state the women social workers are being chosen for political reasons; and when the party in power changes, the public social workers and also the volunteer workers change. Another point of criticism was the fear that everything in the realm of social service work is becoming mechanical in the private as well as the public agencies, and hope was expressed that more social workers would be found with a genuine interest in their work if the terms *Wohltätigkeit* (benevolence) and *Liebestätigkeit* (service of love) are to continue to have any significance. On the whole, to an American observer, the Verband is a well-organized, closely knit, professional group with high ideals and standards.

THE fortieth *Deutsche Fürsorgetag* (German Welfare Day), sponsored by the Verein für öffentliche und private Fürsorge, at its 1927 meeting in Hamburg dealt with the problem of unemployment and particularly with the unemployed who are receiving charitable aid and the methods of keeping them fit for employment during the period of unemployment. The topic for discussion in the general assembly was the "Utilization of Labor as a Social Welfare Problem" (*Die Verwertung der Arbeitskraft als Problem der Fürsorge*), and the chairman of the meeting was Dr. W.

Polligkeit, executive secretary of the Verein. The attendance numbered more than a thousand persons, who showed a lively interest in the discussion of a subject which is of such vital importance to social workers in Germany today.

After the general meeting of the first day the conference divided into three groups for the discussion of specific problems. Group I considered questions arising through the unemployment of adults able to work but unable to find work, and who have in consequence become objects of charity, and questions regarding unemployed handicapped adults in receipt of charity. Group II concerned itself with the question of vocational guidance for minors, which is of course still in its infancy in Germany as in other countries. Group III discussed the question "How Best to Utilize Labor in Public and Private Charitable Institutions." Direktor Steigerthal, from Hamburg, and Pastor Dietrich, from Eckardtsheim, each presented a paper on this subject.

The *Nachrichtendienst*, the organ of the Verein für öffentliche und private Fürsorge, in speaking of the ever recurring note heard at the conference says:

Charity in times past considered persons receiving public assistance as work-house material and later as individuals in need of training, but today a proper understanding of the term includes more, namely, that the person in need of charitable care should be given an opportunity to work, that he has a right to work, a right to develop his physical and mental resources, the right to be kept from becoming disqualified for work when no work is available, and the right to enjoy health and the pleasure of living.

The chief thought running through the discussion on unemployment of adults is found expressed in Paragraph 6(b) of the new German poor relief law (*Fürsorge Pflicht Verordnung*), which states "As an essential need for living one must include aid in time of sickness in order to rehabilitate the person for work."

As a result of the widespread unemployment in Germany today, many cities have established some sort of relief work (*Notstandarbeit*), the object being not only to give temporary employment but to train the unemployed person and to guide him vocationally so that he will be better fitted for present-day employment demands. The conference emphasized that such temporary work must not have as its chief objective the employing of persons who have been without work so long that they are no longer eligible for unemployment insurance long enough to make them again eligible for insurance, but instead to keep the individual fit for work



and in the habit of working so he will eventually depend upon himself and not upon charity for support.

It is interesting that the conference took the position that unemployment is likely to continue to be a problem for some time in Germany and that it is the concern of charitable organizations to make constructive plans to meet the needs of the unemployed.

A JOINT committee composed of four representatives of the Association of Community Chests and Councils and five members of the faculty of the University of Chicago has been organized to undertake the work of establishing a permanent bureau for the registration of social statistics.

Two similar projects that preceded the present undertaking have guided the joint committee in outlining plans for the new venture. Mr. Raymond Clapp, with his "Volume and Unit Cost" study of 1924 was the trail-blazer. In 1926 a second undertaking was carried out under the auspices of the Association of Community Chests and Councils.

Unlike its two predecessors, the 1928 project will collect data only from those agencies which deal with problems of delinquency, dependency, and illness, and will ask for reports from the co-operating cities on a monthly rather than an annual basis.

It is expected that forty cities, all of them east of the Continental Divide, will participate the first year. The committee's plans envisage the gradual expansion of this list of cities as the bureau takes on permanent form.

A considerable amount of field work is to be done during 1928 to insure uniform interpretation of the twenty-four schedules which have been prepared for the use of the agencies in the forty co-operating cities. The committee has selected A. W. McMillen, formerly of the Pacific Branch of the American Red Cross, for this work. Helen R. Jeter, of the faculty of the Graduate School of Social Service Administration, will serve as statistician.

Professor L. C. Marshall will serve as chairman of the Committee, which also includes in its membership Pierce Atwater, director of the Wichita, Kansas, community chest; Raymond Clapp, director of the Cleveland Welfare Federation; Fred C. Croxton, director of the Community Fund of Columbus, Ohio; William J. Norton, director of the Detroit Community Fund; and from the University, Professors C. R. Rorem, Henry Schultz, L. D. White, and Edith Abbott.



THE first World Conference on Population met in Geneva last September with a large number of distinguished economists, physicians, public officials, statisticians, sociologists, social workers, biologists, and other scientists in attendance. It was fitting that the Congress should meet in Geneva not only because of its present international importance but because Geneva has had a long and honorable interest in population problems. The great Malthusian essay was first translated into French by a citizen of Geneva, and three editions were published there before any had appeared in France.

Momentous questions such as declining birth-rates, immigration restriction, birth control, and theories of population growth were discussed. The declining birth-rate was said by one distinguished delegate to have been "hailed with a sigh of relief" by the American and English delegates while the French, Belgian, and the Italian representatives regarded it as a danger to be fought at all costs. The Germans, however, seemed to be divided on the question." Italian speakers were said to echo Signor Mussolini's demand for ten million babies in thirty years without regard to the food supply or the question where the people would go when national boundaries were outgrown.

Dr. Edin, of Stockholm, called attention to a curious post-war phenomenon—that in Sweden the highest rate of increase is in the higher economic classes, and this change from conditions prevailing before the war is attributed in large part to labor and socialist propaganda in favor of birth control. Professor Grotjahn called attention to the great differences to be seen in the urban and rural parts of Germany. The urban population no longer grows by family increase, but the cause is not, as formerly, high mortality in urban areas but the spread of methods of birth prevention. More than one speaker noted that the Catholic birth-rate is higher than the general birth-rate.

There have been numerous manifestations in France of concern over the low birth-rate, and proposals for facilitating the acquisition of French nationality and making expatriation more difficult are undoubtedly inspired by anxiety over the population question. It is to the point that, as the *Manchester Guardian* has said bluntly, what France is suffering from is not the low birth-rate but the high death-rate, which was 50 per cent higher last year in France than in England.

THE long-time effect of the war on the life of the French people is illustrated by recently published statistics of elementary education and illiteracy. The numerical decline of the generation born during the years of the war is indicated by the fact that the new report shows only

3,500,000 children in the elementary schools of today in comparison with 5,500,000 in the year 1913. Not only has there been a tremendous falling off in school registration, but serious complaint was made at the Annual Congress of Teachers, which was held in Strasbourg last summer, that school attendance is very irregular and that the administration of the compulsory education laws is very inefficient. The last census showed that only five-sixths of the French population can both read and write, and the illiterate number 17 per cent, in contrast to 0.5 in Germany and not above 1 in Sweden and Switzerland.

Public attention was recently directed to this question by a colonel of artillery in Vincennes who is trying to reduce illiteracy in his regiment, which was formerly 10 per cent and had reached 17 per cent, by introducing into the barracks, not an official teacher, but a young matron by the name of Mme Simon, who invented a new system of teaching her own children to write so successfully that she has been teaching other children as well as the illiterate boys in the regiment, to write in twenty-five lessons of an hour each. Without going into the details of her system, the whole subject is important as throwing further light on the grave social consequences of the war. The *London Observer*, in commenting both on the decline in the number of French school children and the increase in illiteracy, says: "Once more the war is the main cause of the trouble. The absence and the death in the trenches of the possible fathers of a new generation gravely reduced the numbers of the boys who will be soldiers about 1935. The absence and the death of the elementary-school teachers gravely reduced the standard of instruction of the boys who were at school during the war and immediately after it and are now in early manhood.

THE last number of *Le Service Social*, the magazine published bi-monthly in Brussels by the Central School of Social Service, contains two very interesting articles. One of these describes the opening last summer of Belgium's first settlement, *La Bienvenue*. In attempting to explain the purpose of the new venture, a settlement is defined as follows: "A social settlement is a center where the people of a neighborhood may assemble for purposes of education or amusement and where they will be in contact with persons who are experienced in social service and who are actually living in the settlement."

Good wishes from America will go out to this pioneer settlement across the sea, the spirit of which is indicated by the motto "Tout idéal fortement voulu se réalise."

The second article describes the consolidation of two divisions of the Public Welfare agency, Social Service and Poor Relief. After the war the two services were combined and a registration system was established. The nature of the records, the advantages of the combination, and the results of a study of some of the data are set out. The results are exactly what were to be expected in economy and in improved care; but the account has all the freshness of a new discovery, and the discussion of the large family and of the disastrous effect of sickness on the economic status of the family can never become an old story.

THE Second International Conference on Emigration and Immigration will be held in Havana, Cuba, in March, 1928. The First International Conference on these subjects, which was held in Rome during the month of May, 1924, was an outgrowth of the International Emigration Commission, which was convened in Geneva in 1921 under the auspices of the International Labour Office. At the Rome conference fifty-nine countries were represented, including thirty nations of Europe, six of Asia, nineteen of America, and two of Oceanica. The program of the forthcoming conference is not yet available, but the subjects discussed at Rome are still of great importance and will undoubtedly reappear on the agenda at Havana. Among these are the following:

a) Transportation of emigrants. Hygiene and sanitary services. b) Assistance to emigrants upon leaving and in the ports of shipment, to the immigrants at the ports of landing, and those who have emigrated. Development of co-operation, of prevision and of mutuality among the emigrants. c) Measures which are to be adopted to reconcile emigration to the necessities of manual labor of the country of immigration. Co-operation among the services of emigration and immigration of the different countries. d) General principles of the emigration treaties.

OWING to the interest in the Sacco-Vanzetti and the Whitney cases, American social workers will also be interested in another recent Supreme Court decision relating to the criminal processes of our courts, in which the opinion was written by Mr. Justice Holmes. It will be recalled that neither Sacco nor Miss Whitney had been willing to ask for a pardon, an attitude expressing a natural desire to ask no favors but an inadequate appreciation of the governor's relationship to criminal procedure. The question presented in *Biddle, Warden of the United States Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, v. Perovich* (No. 771, U.S. Supreme Court) was whether it is within the power of the President of the United States to grant to a convict under sentence of death a reprieve or a pardon without

securing the consent of the convict. In this case the defendant was in 1905 found guilty of murder in the first degree and sentenced to death. Reprieves were granted from time to time, however, and in 1909 President Taft commuted the sentence to life-imprisonment. In 1918 and again in 1921 the defendant, who had been removed from a jail in Alaska to a United States penitentiary, applied for a pardon, and in 1925 filed an application for a habeas corpus on the ground that the order of the President was without legal authority because without his consent. The district judge took the same view, but the Supreme Court held otherwise. "A pardon in our day," Justice Holmes said, "is not a private act of grace from an individual happening to have power. It is part of the Constitutional scheme. . . . Just as the original punishment would be imposed without regard to the prisoner's consent and in the teeth of his will, whether he liked it or not, the public welfare, not his consent, determines what shall be done." Chief Justice Taft, of course, took no part in the case.

Justice Holmes's reasoned statement of the modern theory of the pardoning power may well be read, and read carefully, in view of the indiscriminate issue of so-called "Yule-tide pardons" in some of our American states. An interesting innovation, however, should not be overlooked. This is the issue not of a pardon but a parole allowing a temporary visit home. Thus in Alabama one hundred and fifty state convicts, all serving long sentences and many of them "lifers," enjoyed their first liberty since commitment to the penitentiary when they were issued "Christmas paroles," each for a period of seven days, effective December 23 to December 30.

THE striking title of the prize essay of Paul and Dorothy Douglas published by the *American Economic Review* in 1919 was *What Can a Man Afford?*

"How much social work can a community afford?" was asked at the Denver meeting of the National Conference of Social Work. "How little can the community afford?" is a question suggested by every reference to the wastage of modern social, political, and industrial disorganization. For readers interested in these queries an address made last summer by Mr. Ray M. Hudson, chief of the Division of Simplified Practice of the United States Department of Commerce, before the Secretary's Forum, an organization of trade-association executives, will have a very real interest. In this address Mr. Hudson discussed the extent of waste characteristic of industrial organization, the causes, and their remedies. He

pointed out that in six major industries studied by a special Committee appointed by Secretary Hoover, an average waste of 49 per cent was represented in the manufacture of goods totaling \$60,000,000,000 in value. The substance of the address, which was given at length in the *United States Daily*, can hardly be reviewed here. It is clear that reducing the waste and increasing the net available income will mean reducing the burden of the social worker and increasing the resources on which social agencies may draw for support.

Some of the percentages of waste reported by the Committee were metal trades, 29 per cent; boot and shoe manufacturing, 41 per cent; textile manufacturing, 49 per cent; building, 53 per cent; printing, 58 per cent; men's clothing, 64 per cent. "Roughly speaking," Mr. Hudson said, "practically one-half the material, labor, energy, and human effort expended in these industries is lost, or wasted, i.e., spent without tangible returns. . . ." The major causes of this waste are (1) faulty management; (2) interrupted production; (3) restricted production; (4) lost production caused by ill health, physical defects, and industrial accidents. In assaying the relative responsibility the Committee found that over 50 per cent of the responsibility can be placed at the door of management, less than 25 per cent at the door of labor, and the rest to outside contacts or conditions under the control of neither management nor labor.

The recommendations for improvement include (1) a better balancing of production with demand; (2) wider use of industrial statistics; (3) wider use of uniform accounting systems; (4) the simplification and standardization of products; (5) prevention of accidents; (6) improvement in industrial relations; (7) improved organization.

Mr. Hudson's address is all the more interesting to social workers because it is not the statement of one primarily concerned for social reform, but of a representative of the business and commerce of the nation. Such information, however, will give the social worker room for thought both when he is urged to take the business man as his model and when he is told that the public charitable service work cannot be developed because of the limited funds available.

And in addition to the waste in private industrial organization, the National Industrial Conference Board finds that of \$5,829,000,000 expended by 750,000 local government units, one-tenth, or more than \$500,000,000, could be saved each year without diminishing either the quantity or quality of governmental services rendered.

THE creation of a new research agency intended to supply the church with the factual basis for an enlarged social program is noted in recent journals. An International Social Research Institute, with headquarters in Zurich, will inaugurate in Europe the policy of relating the activities of the church in the promotion of social and humanitarian legislation to authoritative social data compiled after approved methods of research, such as the Department of Education and Research of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America adopted very successfully some years ago. The importance of relating all social advance to scientific data is thus given international recognition under important auspices.

AN interesting article on the "Protection of Mothers" appeared in a recent issue of the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung*, by Dr. Gertrude Bäumer, Germany's most distinguished woman social worker. Dr. Bäumer, herself a member of the Reichstag, notes with pride that, in the law of last July concerning the employment of women before and after confinement, Germany is the first industrial country to ratify the Washington convention on this subject; and this is said to indicate that Germany is thus "re-asserting her former social-political leadership." This law marks progress in several directions. It extends the possibility of maternal protection in that it gives the expectant mother the right to leave her job within six weeks before the expected time of confinement without, however, forbidding her to work within this period, thus leaving her the possibility of continuing in some suitable employment up to the time of confinement. The prohibition against work for six weeks after confinement, which has already become a law, has now been amended so as to enable the woman to continue her absence from employment beyond the six-weeks period, provided she can show a doctor's certificate stating that an illness caused or aggravated by the pregnancy requires a longer time for recovery. Throughout this time, i.e., six weeks before and six weeks after the birth of the child, the working woman cannot be dismissed except for some important reason unconnected with her pregnancy. The employer is not obliged to pay the woman employee for the weeks she is forbidden to work, but she receives aid from the state insurance.

This protection, however, is confined to industrial and mercantile groups, that is, to urban groups, and the "farm groups again escape the protection of social legislation—farm labor itself as well as the side industries such as brick-baking, dairying, etc., provided their working force is less than three."



Dr. Bäumer notes that the *Reichsregierung* stated that the Washington decision did not require that farming be included, but she adds:

Our provisions for maternal protection should conform to our needs rather than to international regulations. It is true that farm industries have no need of maternal protection? That would be true only if it could be proved that farm labor is less harmful to the pregnant woman than industrial labor, and likewise, that the health of mother and child proved further protection unnecessary. What are the facts? Infant mortality rates show more plainly each year that the rural districts are falling more and more behind. The task of today is obviously one of helping the rural districts to catch up with the progress made in the cities."

In a recent number of the *Archiv für soziale Hygiene*, Dr. Seiffert (*Medizinalrat*) of Munich, discussed the infant mortality rate in Bavaria; and he showed that, in districts preponderately rural, the infant mortality rate rises considerably above the average rate for the nation as a whole; and he concluded from this that there is need of greater maternal protection, especially for the pregnant woman, and especially in connection with heavy work. He says,

One notices frequently that the unhealthful effect of farm labor as contrasted with factory labor for women is underestimated. One may assume that a woman's health is injured to a much greater extent in farm work than in factory work. . . . It is about time that heavy farm work take its rightful position in relation to factory labor and that the farm woman is also given the necessary protective legislation.

The Bavarian figures show that the infant mortality rate rises rapidly after the eleventh day in the rural districts, this being the time when the mother resumes her work and no longer nurses her child, either because she is unable to do so or because she finds it inconvenient.

The failure to extend the law to the so-called rural "side industries" is especially criticized, and attention is called to the absurdity of forbidding the city woman to lift bricks in urban brickworks for six weeks after confinement while leaving the rural woman free to do the identical thing that is prohibited in an urban industry.

THE death of Fred C. Nelles, superintendent of the State School for Boys in Whittier, California, is a heavy loss not only to his own state but to the whole country. Educators in this field who combine executive ability of a high order and the rare qualities of personality that influence delinquent boys are all too few. Mr. Nelles in his fifteen years of educational work made the Whittier School one of the best, if not the best, of



all institutions of its kind. He was a gifted educator, but he was also full of the kindness that is sorely needed in dealing with wayward youth. When he took over the superintendency of Whittier, it was an old-fashioned reformatory of the repressive order. He made it a modern character-building school, where boys learned not only to study and work but also to play in the right spirit. His theory of discipline was briefly stated during his first year at the school:

It is undoubtedly true that in the governing of those who have so conducted themselves as to make it necessary for them to be committed to a place of reformation, it requires less effort to preserve order when the individual is forced into a meaningless submission, than if his individuality is considered, and the rights to which he is entitled, however restricted these may be, are fully respected.

There are many ways to cultivate in the mind of the inmate a marked regard for authority through fear and a prompt obedience to demands made. On the other hand are those who contend for the stimulating of the little spark of self-respect a boy may still have retained and the drawing out and developing of such inherent manliness as he may possess, a treatment that, while exacting a quick obedience, appeals to the sense of justice and is recognized as reasonable and considerate.

Dr. Terman, of Stanford University, speaking at a Memorial Service, referred to Mr. Nelles as a "practical idealist," and said that probably no man of our generation

has envisaged more clearly the possibilities of social and educational reform in the treatment of delinquents. His faith in regard to results which he thought to be by right methods attainable sometimes seemed to me, in our many heart to heart talks of the last twelve years, somewhat visionary, particularly in the earlier of those years before I had come to know his skilful and successful strategy in dealing with things as they are, whether inadequate equipment, state and local officials, "bad" boys, or worse legislators. What he accomplished in the face of so many difficulties we know and the world knows, for he made the Whittier School absolutely preeminent among institutions of its kind in this country. There are other things which he did not live to accomplish but which have been brought measurably nearer by the forces that he set under way. It is our duty, or better our privilege, to help to keep these forces alive until they have borne the fruit it is in them to bear.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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*Migration and Business Cycles* (Publications of the National Bureau of Economic Research, No. 19). By HARRY JEROME. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1926. Pp. 256. \$3.50.

That the ebb and flow of immigration is related in some way to cycles of prosperity and depression has long been observed. The exact nature of the relation between the two, however, has been a matter of dispute. Some have argued that immigrants come during periods of prosperity and leave during depressions, so that shortages of labor and oversupply are both thus "naturally" relieved. Others have contended that the coming and going fail to synchronize with the seasonal and cyclical fluctuations in employment and aggravate the severity of industrial depressions.

Dr. Jerome's study goes a long way toward settling the argument. With all the devices of modern statistical science, and with the aid of the expert staff of the National Bureau of Economic Research, he has attempted to measure the pull of prosperity that draws the immigrant and the push that expels the emigrant. His results, of course, are not complete and final measurements. But they do show how prosperity and depression affect migration, and incidentally they bring to light phases of the immigration problem that have been quite generally overlooked.

The facts show clearly that immigration to the United States, as well as emigration from this country, moves in cycles closely corresponding to the fluctuations in our opportunities for employment. But "the passage of some time is required before the full effect of a change in employment is felt upon migration. The extent of this lag varies in different cycles and is also frequently found to vary in the downturn and the upturn of the same cycle." Moreover, the "compensating movements are often not numerically adequate to decrease the number of workers in this country in a period of depression, but, on the contrary, even in periods of low employment net immigration is sometimes steadily adding to the supply of workers." The fact that emigration increases in periods of depression does not mean that more labor is leaving the country than is coming in. Immigration never ceases, and new workers, in excess of the number that emigrate, continue to arrive, no matter how much we may be suffering from unemployment. There are exceptions to this rule, but they are rare.

More significant are Dr. Jerome's findings on the international aspects of the migration movements. It appears that the years of prosperity and depression in this country and in the countries from which the immigrants come are usually the same. When immigrants are drawn to the United States by industrial pros-

perity they are leaving their own countries when these also are prosperous. And when they return because work is slack here, they usually find depressed industries in their native lands. The evidence presented seems to be conclusive that it is the pull of industrial opportunity in the United States that brings immigrants here, not the push of depression abroad. And similarly, it is not improved economic opportunities abroad that lead our emigrants to leave the United States but rather the lack of employment here.

Before the introduction of the quota principle of restriction seasonal fluctuations in immigration, too, followed closely the seasonal variations in employment. Most immigrants came in March, April, and May, when employment is greatest during the year. In December, January, and February, when employment drops, the arrivals were greatly reduced. The month of December often showed an excess of emigration over immigration. But the new restriction law has changed the seasonal movement, and "although the flow of immigrants is reduced in volume, its distribution by months is now less likely than formerly to be well adjusted to the seasonal variations in employment."

Less conclusive is the evidence to show that boom periods in our business cycles have been intensified by the immigration movement. But the probabilities are indicated that the arrival of new supplies of cheap labor stimulates overexpansion of industry, for it keeps labor costs low, thus overcoming one of the important checks to overexpansion, i.e., high costs of production.

In a foreword Dr. Wesley Mitchell, director of the National Bureau of Economic Research, explains that the study was undertaken at the request of the Committee on Scientific Problems of Human Migration of the National Research Council. A similar committee of the Social Science Research Council has also co-operated with the Bureau in an investigation of "Migration and the Mechanization of Industry." This latter study has been completed by Dr. Jerome, and is soon to be published. If it is as revealing as the present volume, much will have been done to give us that well-rounded knowledge to which Dr. Mitchell looks forward, which is "needed as a basis for private opinion and public policy regarding migration."

W. M. LEISERSON

ANTIOCH COLLEGE

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*The Ethics and Economics of Family Endowment.* By ELEANOR RATHBONE.

London: The Epworth Press, 1927. Pp. 118.

*Family Endowment. A Critical Analysis.* By ALEXANDER GRAY. Lon-

don: Ernest Benn, 1927. Pp. 136.

These two books are the best popular arguments for and against family allowances which have yet been published. Miss Rathbone's book was originally delivered as the *Annual Social Service Lecture* before the Methodist Conference of England and is a spirited plea that the incomes of the working-class families be increased to provide for children as they are born.

Miss Rathbone lays bare the hardships which the mothers and children suffer because the earnings of the husband, which are generally insufficient to support even a moderate-sized family, remain relatively fixed. The burden of such privation is almost always thrown upon those at home. In Miss Rathbone's moving words, the mothers generally "become devitalized and rather silent and listless. One may see crowds of such women in the poorer shopping centers, or sitting on the free seats in the parks while their children play—round-shouldered, shabby figures, so uninteresting that few people look closely enough at their faces to note the lines of permanent, patient endurance in which they are set: symptoms of a physical discomfort and moral discouragement so habitual they have become subconscious." The children fare equally ill.

Nor in the present state of industry can the employers of England pay any uniform wage to all which will provide for those forgotten persons who lie at the base of our whole economic pyramid. The remedy, Miss Rathbone points out, is through paying allowances for the children to the mothers which will make the living wage a reality and not merely an aspiration. The three main possibilities of effecting this are succinctly outlined, namely, (1) by an industrial plan, the costs of which will be met by the employers and the administration given, as in France, to an equalization fund which will prevent those with dependents from being discriminated against; (2) by being incorporated into the system of social insurance paid for by employers, employees, and the state, and administered by the latter; and (3) by being paid for out of the state funds. There is in addition an excellent summary of existing experiments, including a short sketch of the recent acts passed in New Zealand and in New South Wales, while the book closes with a discussion of the probable effects of such a system of allowances.

Professor Gray's book is a violent attack upon family endowment, which he defines as the proposal that "a man's children should be supported by other people." The evil of poverty could be cured, he believes, if men would only provide for their own children either by saving before marriage and by postponing matrimony until a comfortable nest-egg was accumulated or by adjusting the number of children in marriage to their income. He is opposed to introducing the principle of needs into the wages system, which he would have based solely on relative productivity. The latter standard is superior, he holds, because it is definite, whereas needs cannot properly be defined, and because it involves effort instead of self-indulgence on the part of the individual. Here, Professor Gray seems to forget the fact that the advocates of family endowment have only proposed to make the basic wage and the allowances sufficient to meet the minimum of physical and social needs and that above this minimum relative productivity would determine the surplus earnings. Such a minimum would, moreover, not be very difficult to determine within any society, while it should always be kept sufficiently simple not to lead to self-indulgence.

Professor Gray also accuses the supporters of family allowances with manifesting hostility to the bachelors. This surely misses the point. Regard for chil-

dren and for working-class mothers rather than opposition to the unmarried is certainly the motivating spirit of Miss Rathbone and her associates. The children and mothers merely happen to need protection far more than the single workers, whose earnings are generally amply sufficient to maintain them. If the children and the mothers can be helped without decreasing the income of the bachelors, this is surely all to the good, but in a world where there is still a scanty supply of the economic goods of life, it may be necessary to effect something of a horizontal as well as a vertical redistribution of income. To do so would indeed be only rationing our supply of goods so that the needs of the oncoming generation would be given equal consideration with those of the generation which has reached young manhood and womanhood.

Professor Gray is also afraid that the payment of allowances by the state, which he regards as the inevitable form which they will finally take if introduced, would lead to the virtual nationalization of children and to the determination by the state of the types of children which will be produced. Here again it seems as though he were erecting a bogey, since any eugenics program which family allowances might stimulate would necessarily be of a limited and negative character which would aim merely to eliminate the manifestly unfit.

Family allowances are now a burning question in Australia, where New South Wales and New Zealand have during the last year passed laws providing such grants. There are very clear indications that they may soon become a leading issue in British politics. Because of our higher level of real wages, there has been less discussion of this subject in the United States than in any other country save Russia. But the adoption of the plan by a few companies and by the school board of Mount Vernon, New York, indicates the possibility that the subject may soon receive that serious attention here which it deserves.

PAUL H. DOUGLAS

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*Family Income Insurance.* By JOSEPH L. COHEN. London: P. S. King & Son, 1926. Pp. 47. 1s.

*Family Allowances in Practice.* By HUGH H. R. VIBART. London: P. S. King & Son, 1926. Pp. 237. 10s. 6d.

Two books on family allowances published in Great Britain in the year 1926 indicate that interest in that subject is not flagging. Mr. Cohen's little book belongs with the large volume of pamphlet literature already issued, in the effort to win support for the idea of family endowment. It is more concerned than others, however, in discussing ways and means by which allowances might be administered. But first, as an enthusiast for social insurance in all its varieties, he must show that family allowances too can be brought under that general category. Then it is fairly easy to show that the administrative machinery worked out for the insurance acts could be used for family allowances. But Mr. Cohen does not

stop here; he brings the subject down to earth by estimating very roughly the costs and their distribution under a number of different schemes. This is doubtless very effective as propaganda. It makes family allowances seem a domestic necessity rather than a foreign luxury; it places them just round the corner instead of off in the remote distance; and the imposing array of pounds, shillings, and pence gives a sense of feet on the ground, which is very welcome even to the citizens of a seafaring nation. But the reader who picks up the book with serious doubts will scarcely find them removed when he has mastered its contents.

*Family Allowances in Practice* is a far more substantial work. A careful scholar has set out to determine what family allowances really are as they have developed in Western Europe. He has examined the laws and the published documents, and sets out in some detail the facts about the size of the allowances, the methods of payment used, the administration and control of the funds set apart for allowances, the conditions attached to their receipt, social work done in connection with the schemes, and the various ways of grouping establishments into units for administration of the allowances. And Mr. Vibart does not limit his study to a dry statement of what is being done. He is interested in the various streams of thought which contributed to the adoption of family allowances, and in the attitudes of various groups of the community toward them: that of organized labor, of the feminists, and even of the bachelors. Moreover, his concern extends from the "is" to the "ought." Even in discussing attitudes he finds it necessary to consider not only what they are, but also what they should be. Unfortunately, he leaves implicit the standards by which he determines the latter, and the concept that a practice must be good for something, rather than good in itself, is foreign to his way of thinking. And unfortunately, too, if he wishes to appraise, he has little information about the results of different ways of handling the same problems. Hence, his arguments necessarily run in a priori terms.

The author's conclusions from his careful factual study are not entirely clear. He recognizes that "the system does not offer a remedy for all evils, or a means of settling the whole wages problem." Throughout his volume, however, it is clear that he is concerned with making a case for the new system, even though his propaganda is always of the restrained variety. A conclusion which he might have drawn is that many different schemes pass by a common name, and that no one of those actually in use bears much resemblance to those discussed by the new evangelists. In no case is the allowance large enough to equalize the position of the worker with family responsibilities and the worker who cares for himself alone. In no case has the scheme been used to assure to all workers the living wage which, it is asserted, they cannot be given so long as "hypothetical children" are provided for. In no case, at least as far as the records give evidence, has the basic wage been fixed on the estimated needs of the bachelor worker. Hence, it appears that the experience with family-allowance schemes is largely irrelevant to the general arguments about "the new wage system." *Family Allowances in Practice* would have been a better book if the author had pointed



this out. Certainly, clarity of thought will be promoted if we separate in our discussion of family allowances two such very different things as the system as conceived by its proponents and the systems that have actually been adopted. But as he has given the data from which this conclusion can be drawn, perhaps we should not complain that his facts did not mean to him what they mean to others.

HELEN R. WRIGHT

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*Democracy under Revision.* By H. G. WELLS. London: Leonard and Virginia Woolf at The Hogarth Press, 1927. Pp. 47.

Not every novelist who requires two volumes to tell a story can indite a social philosophy in a single lecture. But not since Mr. Wells presented his *Discovery of the Future* in vest-pocket compass has there been a better brief statement than this of so large a matter. Delivered this year as a lecture at the Sorbonne, this small book surveys the history of modern democracy, analyzes its present state, and prognosticates its future forms.

The age of democracy ascendant was characterized by an emphasis upon equalitarianism, moral, legal, practical. It disclaimed against caste and privilege in the interest of a general release of the energies of men. Politically the emphasis culminated in parliamentarianism; artistically, in novels whose characters are not personages, in plays whose plots are earthy, in painting and music that emphasize spontaneity and individuality. Over against this spirit of dissolution, however, science, nationalism, and business monopoly (all of which matured during the same period) represent not only a synthetic impetus but one which invalidated in practice the equalitarianism affirmed in theory. And, to complete the paradox, political democrats have dialectically fought back the rising tide of socialism with the double-edged dictum that "politicians and elected people are not good enough for the job."

On the backstroke this thrust cuts away much democratic pretense. Purged and humbled, democracy presents itself for revision. The deep-lying democratic spirit must be rebodied in order to save the world from its threefold practical failure: failure to abolish war, failure to achieve a universal monetary system, failure to organize the world economically for adequate production and just distribution. And what is the form of its spiritual reincarnation? Communism and fascism, though gross and violent and repulsive in contemporary styles, caricature the spirit of the resurrected and soon to be glorified messiah. Eager young people, devoted to a cause, intelligent with the prevision of science, and afire with an enthusiasm that is religion—here is the heart of Mr. Wells's latest nostrums, red and black, and the bright hope of the world.

We have here, then, not so much the confessions as the predictions of a reformer. And one will hunt long, in the libraries, for an equally searching diag-



nosis or for a more challenging prognosis. The old is suffused with new meaning when touched by the fertile imagination of Mr. Wells, who is certainly at his best when in heroic mood he substitutes, as here, for Atlas. We shall certainly not quarrel with him over empty forms when we can share with him the living spirit. Who would not trust the generosity of any world that Mr. Wells could predict? We may rest assured that if education wins its race with catastrophe, the victors will be crowned with garlands that smell sweet, whatever name they bear. Certain it is that some of the early democratic ardor has passed to these disowned sons. But youth and devotion and intelligence will need the might of majorities to weather storms that crises may easily whip up from the complacency which Wells now remarks over the loss (in Italy) or absence (in Russia) of political rights by millions of citizens. Majorities, when aroused, will assert themselves by violence if not by voting. If by voting, political democracy remains; if by violence—"O Wind, if Winter comes, can Spring be far behind?"

T. V. SMITH

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Adventures in Ethics.* By RICHARD C. CABOT, M.D. New York: Harper, 1926. Pp. viii, 152. \$2.

Dr. Cabot's purpose in writing this book (all of which has appeared in the *Survey Graphic* during the past three years) was to report briefly what has interested him in "contacts with the professions of the minister, doctor, business man, teacher and social worker." Adding the fact that the emphasis in the five chapters is principally upon ethical objectives and standards, the book is fairly described. Dr. Cabot's high rank in social as in medical science, and his close connection with the theological circles of Cambridge make it inevitable that what he has to say is drawn from ripe judgment and deep reflection.

Social workers will be particularly interested in the last chapter, which is, however, the least significant of the five. The evolution of the basic definitions and objectives of social work is traced from 1885 to the present time and the chapter ends with the statement, "Social work is the effort to unblock and to keep clear the channels of understanding within a person, between a person and his group, or between groups (such as employers, employees, and the public) and through these channels to favor the transfusion of the spirit and the power of God." This rather surprising result is elaborately explained. Advice to social workers—to "limit intake," to avoid hurry, to resist the temptation uncandidly to "pick the minds" of "cases," to be frank and considerate when rendering "confidential" reports about another's record—is of course given in a genial spirit.

His opinions concerning modern codes of business ethics and the character of the alleged "motives" of the 198 codes of Heermance's book are important. The same may be said of his remarks on "moral education," which constitute the best survey of recent experiments the writer has seen. In view of the Sacco-

Vanzetti case, and the almost superstitious homage paid the Grant-Lowell-Stratton report in many quarters, it interests one to read that *Boston* added to the Iowa Plan the precept "obedience to duly constituted authority!" The random observations on the ethics of physicians "unite condescension with authority," to quote the discarded maxim of the 1847 A.M.A. code. But they are fine and ought to be inspiring to medical students.

Probably the most original chapter is the first, in which Dr. Cabot republishes his famous "Plea for a Clinical Year" in almshouses and mental hospitals for ministerial students. This plea has already had effect in a modified way through the adoption of some such method in the Chicago Theological School. Dr. Cabot claims that such practical work would benefit (1) the students, who need "such a year of practice in applying their religious beliefs in the attempt to encourage, to console, to steady human souls and to learn from them, as well as from failures in attempting to help them"; (2) the inmates, who need "dedicated" attendants; (3) the theological teachers, who would thus acquire a stock of common experience to discuss with their pupils; (4) the institution itself, which would be kept to high standards by the presence of the "dedicated" students and the latter's criticism of, or co-operation with, the staff.

It would be an excellent thing to try out this suggestion in an institution which is closely affiliated with, or under the control of, a ministerial school; and only there would it be feasible. The chief value of the suggestion lies in its constructive criticism of the present method of training Protestant ministers. There can be no doubt that much of the alarming loss of Protestantism is due to the appalling remoteness from the problems of actual life which characterizes most of the Protestant theological seminaries. The students' evangelical zeal for the salvaging of human life through pastoral help, or through social and economic reform (both which methods Jesus used), has often been smothered by the haystack of scholastic knowledge which had to be mastered, usually *memoriter*; for the methods of teaching followed in many of the seminaries are a half-century at least out of date.

Why are not they, and the curriculum, modernized? Because of the conflicting views, which Dr. Cabot himself pungently illustrates in this very chapter. He calls systematic theology "the king of all studies." He goes on to say that "the Christian minister shall teach nothing but Jesus Christ and Him crucified . . . no sociology, no psychoanalysis, no secular economics, no hygiene." He believes that the "socialization of the Gospel has often meant the abandonment of the Gospel in a mush of modern materialism and sentimentalism." *Eureka!* and with that quite sentimental and not at all sympathetic point of view, all the old theological curriculum comes hobbling back: Hebrew and Greek, Old Testament and New Testament history, doctrines, church history, symbolics, liturgics—and *systematic theology!*—that final quietus of enthusiasm for the earnest, modern-minded ministerial student! What wonder that the student often leaves the ministry and enters social work and can again breathe and work in the modern world without quenching or compromising his ideals!

—or wasting his life! It is this decadent *arrière pensée* of sentimentality, so suggestive of tumble-down New England meeting-houses and abandoned farms, so Puritanical in its separation of religion from humaneness, so cold to the passionate social chivalry and Lindbergh ardor of most of our ministerial students, which is the spinal meningitis of American Protestantism. It is profoundly to be hoped that the affirmative spirit of Dr. Cabot's plea will prevail, rather than its negative reservations.

CHARLES LYTTLE

MEADVILLE THEOLOGICAL SCHOOL

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*Business Management of Institutional Homes for Children* (Teachers College Contributions to Education, No. 215). By LEONARD BLISS JOB. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926. Pp. xi+205. \$1.50.

This study grew out of the difficulties encountered in making a survey of the finances and administration of Hope Farm, a cottage community for children, located near Verbank, New York. The findings of the survey were only partly satisfactory because of the impossibility of comparing business procedures, accounting practices, cost figures, and management with other similar institutions. Dr. Job therefore undertook to study the problems of accounting in institutional homes for children. Leake and Watts School, of Yonkers, New York, was used as a laboratory, and the author assisted in the organization of a business office.

The system of accounting and business procedure evolved was quite complete and comprehensive. Expenditures are classified upon a functional basis as follows: (1) administration; (2) child care, including food, clothing, laundry, household, health, and other services; (3) instruction; (4) operation, including building and grounds, automobiles, and store; (5) capital expenses; (6) institutional production, including crops and gardens, and live stock.

The general accounting procedure outlined is good, and the detailed classification of accounts as indicated in chapter vi is especially helpful.

It is remarkable that a book of over two hundred pages can be written on the subject of business management of institutional homes for children without once giving any indication of a knowledge by the writer of the basic reasons for conducting such homes. In the monograph under review there seems to be no realization that business management involves, in addition to a control of expenditures, a consideration as to whether or not children are being admitted to the institution who should not be accepted for care, or whether children in the institution are being kept longer than their circumstances justify. Only once could the reviewer discover a reference to case work or the services of case workers, and there it was slipped in under the item of Transportation (p. 108). Perhaps as difficult a problem as any in making a satisfactory comparison between different institutions is the measure of the service of the institution. This prob-

lem is dismissed by Dr. Job with the statement, "There is no argument for the use of any elements other than the children in attendance and time as cost units."

Another criticism of the study, excellent as it is from an accounting point of view, is its lack of convenient adaptability to the ordinary run of children's institutions. In by far the greater number of such institutions, a small number of employees combine the offices of the superintendent, personnel officer, head supervisor, business manager, matron, dietitian, and nurse. Often to one person fall all the duties of all these offices, as well as many of those in Dr. Job's next classification: financial secretary, purchasing agent, accountant, storekeeper, and sewing-room head. It is a real problem for this person, while acting as accountant, to allocate correctly the precise portion of her salary to each of the functional classifications.

After considerable effort in trying to get uniform reports from social agencies, the reviewer has come to the conclusion that comparative reports can be secured only when: (1) the agencies are thoroughly convinced of the desirability of such comparisons; (2) facilities such as accounting and report forms and books of record are furnished to the agencies; (3) accounting service is furnished.

Probably the greatest progress in establishing such uniform record-making will be made by the Association of Community Chests and Councils. This organization, working through local community chests, will be in the best position to furnish the before mentioned requisites.

F. F. LAUNE

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*Life and the Student.* By CHARLES HORTON COOLEY. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927. Pp. 273.

In *Life and the Student* Professor Cooley has given his readers the accumulated wisdom of years devoted to the study of society and human nature. His new book is written with clarity and literary skill and thereby differs radically from the pedantry and dogmatism of much of the current output in this field. Offered unpretentiously as a setting forth of the views and opinions of a student and observer, there is present nevertheless a social philosophy representing the best in modern social science.

Professor Cooley's thought relates itself more nearly to the social philosophy of Emerson and Thoreau, the aesthetics of Goethe, and to early nineteenth-century humanitarianism than to the system-sociology of Comte and Spencer. There is a basic realization of some of the gross injustices of the present economic system and a dislike of the rigidity and formalism of contemporary social institutions. An optimistic rationalism is to be found in his approach, which to some persons may appear romantic—romantic in that the confusions and failures of the moment seem less important than the ordered progress glimpsed in the

midst of the apparent chaos. Such an attitude can be maintained only from the vantage point of detachment from much of the surface currents of life, and this detachment Professor Cooley has admirably achieved. One might say of the author that his instrument for social study is a field glass rather than a microscope.

The rationale of the book lies in a clear understanding of social forces and their causes and in the ability to incorporate into the thought of the book present-day contributions to the knowledge of human nature from the fields of biology and psychology. There is also a faith based upon the love of craftsmanship, of group activity, and of all creative endeavor in thought, art, and living. Finally, Professor Cooley brings to all his activities a refinement that springs from inherent simplicity and from a dislike of pose, rancor, and pretense. The result is a philosophy of reasonableness, good will, and tolerance.

If *Life and the Student* is sociology, it is the sociology that was already fully matured at the time of Plato.

H. L. LURIE

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*Light from the North: The Danish Folk High Schools, Their Meanings for America.* By JOSEPH K. HART. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1927. Pp. xxi+159. \$1.50; students ed., \$1.25.

*Education and Social Welfare in Switzerland.* By A. J. PRESSLAND. London: George G. Harrap, 1927. Pp. 111. 3s.

Each of these small volumes brings to American readers useful information with reference to educational advance in two interesting small European countries, Denmark and Switzerland. Much of Mr. Hart's material is already known to readers of the *Survey Graphic*. With the awakening interest in the problem of the adolescent years, with the great increase in the number of young persons going to school beyond the elementary grades, and with the growing complexity of modern industrial and commercial organization, there is a greater and greater necessity for those responsible in the organization of the school system to be in touch with the actualities of the life for which the young are to be prepared. Suggestions from other countries, especially those of democratic purpose and ideals, are to be gratefully considered. Mr. Hart's comparison of the experience in Denmark and the United States will be suggestive to social workers who find themselves in close contact with the school system in the United States.

The little volume devoted to the Swiss system is one of the many tributes to Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, the centenary of whose death (February 17, 1927) was commemorated this year. The contents are organized in ten chapters, in

one of which the earlier history of education in Switzerland is reviewed. Two chapters are devoted to Pestalozzi, one to Père Girard and his successors. Of the other six chapters, one deals with the later development of education in Switzerland and five with practical subjects, such as apprenticeship, the agricultural schools, adult education, and child welfare. Perhaps the most interesting chapters are those on the present-day organization of education in Switzerland and on the legal position of young persons.

The school system of Switzerland is a part of the cantonal administration. In the case of elementary education, the federal Bureau in the Home Office has little authority and can influence the canton only by suggestion and persuasion. The factory acts restricting child labor, and army laws requiring physical education are federal laws, and the federation may make grants, but these are based on population and are not used to control policy.

In the case of secondary schools, the federal government exercises greater influence through examinations for admission to certain of the professions and through the adjustment of cantonal institutions to the Federal Polytechnic in Zurich, the one school administered by the federal government. Marked influence is exercised over non-classical secondary schools.

The schools of the country are classed as (1) infant schools, for children under six; (2) primary schools, for those from six to fourteen, during which period attendance is generally compulsory, though the upper and lower limits of the compulsory period vary from canton to canton; (3) continuation schools, for young people from fourteen to twenty; (4) intermediate schools, admission to which is based on severe examination and which in some communities are fitting-schools for the gymnasium, or perhaps for commercial or industrial positions; (5) secondary schools, which are usually cantonal schools taking pupils from the age of ten or twelve until they are eighteen and a half; (6) universities, of which there are seven. The curricula of the secondary schools are divided into two portions, the earlier corresponding somewhat to the courses of the intermediate schools, and the later serving as preparation for the universities. Being still cantonal, these schools vary, and there are sometimes wide differences in the qualifications demanded of teachers of men as compared with those demanded of women teachers.

Besides these, the cantons and private organizations offer special opportunity for vocational education. There are schools of industry, as, for example, in the Jura, where training is given in the making of musical instruments, schools in which girls may be prepared for the women's trades, and agricultural schools.

Apprenticeship, which declined after the Industrial Revolution, has recently been somewhat renewed through the influences of some of the big employers who found themselves constantly confronted with a dearth of skilled workers. Especially the engineering, the printing, and the watchmaking trades are interested in this development. There is also an awakening interest in adult education; and, while progress often seems slow because of the jealousy with which the



cantons resist central, i.e., federal, intervention, and the difficulty with which co-operative methods are developed, there is a widening agreement not only as to the purposes and ends to be served, but as to certain fundamental principles of organization and method.

S. P. BRECKINRIDGE

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Mental Hygiene.* By DANIEL WOLFORD LA RUE, PH.D. New York: Macmillan, 1927. Pp. x+443. \$2.20.

In this book the author outlines his views on the subject of mental health, including what he believes to be the working truths in mental hygiene. The work is divided into four parts and twenty-nine chapters. Part I includes a survey of "The Forces that Determine Personality"; Part II, "Inheritance and Development of Traits"; Part III, "The Mental Hygiene of Adult Life"; and Part IV, "The Mental Hygiene of Childhood and Adolescence."

Although drawn from varied sources, and in this respect indicating open-mindedness, many of the conclusions seem quite dogmatic and crowded into formulas. This is especially true with reference to the chapter on "Inheritance of Traits."

Complex, affective experiences can hardly be dismissed with summary statements regarding dominant and recessive determiners in the germ plasm. At any rate it is doubtful that any such reactions can be dealt with as unit characters. The difference between congenital and hereditary action-patterns is always an important consideration; and the difficulties encountered in estimating whether or not certain emotional responses are inherent or acquired are very great. Recent work on differentiation of emotional responses in infants, by Sherman,<sup>1</sup> indicates some of the obstacles present whenever such reactions are observed, stressing the difficulty in obtaining accurate control in such experiments and pointing out sources of error in interpretation of results.

It is extremely difficult to formulate rules for a "normal" mental life on the basis of our available scientific data, and therefore one is skeptical of any series of "daily fourteen" exercises designed to regulate or counteract primitive emotions. Life refuses to be catalogued in this way.

Description of emotional processes is highly useful, but, unless the mechanism of emotional reaction is known, one cannot deal adequately with such processes. For example, the suggestion to ask one's self, "Am I jealous because Jones has bought a new car?" (p. 214), would imply insight into the mechanism of rationalization before such a question could be asked of one's self. Such insight must first be acquired. It is usually not present if the individual is having some emotional difficulty, as would be the case in the author's example.

The tendency to divide mind into special functions or faculties naturally

<sup>1</sup> See Mandel Sherman, *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, Vol. VII, June, 1927.



leads to the conclusion that "one may be sound on all subjects but one, his 'weak spot,' be it mechanics, alcohol, sex, or religious ceremony." This, of course, is directly opposed to the attitude of many psychopathologists, who maintain that there is abundant clinical evidence demonstrating the unity of the psyche, and connections between delusions, however circumscribed they may be, and the total personality.

The same attitude is shown in the author's attempt to explain human behavior in terms of "phreno-mental traits," with special brain centers for each trait.

In dealing with the social implications of mental hygiene the author carefully delimits the field and outlines the problems and scope of the work, giving a good description of the development of the mental hygiene movement.

A good bibliography has been carefully compiled.

EDWIN R. EISLER, M.D.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Securing Employment for the Handicapped: A Study of Placement Agencies for This Group in New York City.* By MARY LA DAME. New York: Welfare Council of New York City, 1927. Pp. 133. 50 cents.

This report of a study of twelve agencies in New York City engaged in the work of placement of the handicapped will be of interest to those who recognize the difficulties faced by the handicapped in finding employment, and the need of a placement service of a highly skilled kind as an aid to overcoming the difficulties. Fourteen agencies were studied, of which twelve provide the service of placement and two are concerned with vocational guidance and training. The work of the agencies was examined with regard to the purpose, scope, organization, personnel, and placement procedure. In addition, comparable statistics were compiled for a period of four weeks, during which time uniform placement records were kept.

The report indicates that there is in the work of these agencies inadequate provision for certain groups. With the exception of those who are patients of hospitals affiliated with the Employment Bureau for the Handicapped, the needs of the blind, the deaf and dumb, women and girls who are orthopedic cripples, the formerly tuberculous, and those suffering from organic and other diseases except heart disease are not satisfactorily met. There is duplication of effort in the registration of applicants and in the solicitation of employers for jobs. Mention is made of the need of a close co-operation with the employing group, with hospitals, clinics, and social agencies, a careful attention to medical diagnosis and follow-up after placement, needs already recognized by persons of wide experience in the employment field as essential to any scheme for successful placement of the handicapped.

Probably the most significant fact revealed in the report is that the technique of placement of applicants handicapped with one type of disability does not differ sufficiently from that of placement of applicants handicapped by another type of disability to justify the maintenance of separate agencies for particular types. This points the way to some plan of co-ordination which would permit the establishment of a more effective service at less cost than is now necessary.

Miss La Dame's study is the first of its kind to be made in the limited field of the administration of a skilled placement service to the handicapped group in a large urban community. Her report is, however, primarily of local interest and seems overburdened with detail. Yet there is much of value in it to those who are concerned with the technique of placement as a solution of the problem of the handicapped worker in industry.

MARION HATHWAY

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

*Occupations for Women: a Study Made for the Southern Women's Educational Alliance.* Edited by ORIE LATHAM HATCHER. Richmond, Va.: Southern Women's Educational Alliance, 1927. Pp. xxxviii+527. \$3.50.

*Occupations for Women* is a valuable addition to the books of occupational information for trained women. Although it is intended primarily for southern women and discusses fields of work in which southern women are employed, it contains general information applicable to any part of the country.

The Introduction analyzes the present situation in regard to the work of women and it discusses the problem of work for married women, both from the economic and the sociological point of view, the handicaps under which women work, and the need for information and guidance.

The fields of work covered are accounting, advertising, agriculture, the arts, banking, law, library work, medicine, nursing, personnel work in school and industry, pharmacy, public-health work, civil service, real estate, religious work, scientific work. Each occupation is discussed under the following headings: "General Description"; "Divisions of Work"; "Types of Workers"; "Education and Training"; "Desirable Personal Qualifications"; "Best Way to Enter the Occupation, Incomes To Be Expected, Advantages and Disadvantages."

There is an especially good General Bibliography as well as a bibliography for each field of work treated. The Occupational Index at the end gives the reader an idea of the wide range of occupations within a given field, and assembles from each chapter page references to the various aspects considered—variety of jobs, the education and training needed, advantages, disadvantages, etc.

ANNE S. DAVIS

CHICAGO BUREAU OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

*Memoria del Segundo Congreso de Mujeres de Cuba.* Published by the Federación Nacional de Asociaciones Femeninas, Chacon 23, Habana, Cuba. \$2.50.

This volume contains the recently published report of the proceedings of the Second National Congress of Cuban Women, held in Havana, April 12-18, 1925. This Congress, as well as the first one held two years earlier, was organized by the Federación Nacional de Asociaciones Femeninas (National Federation of Women's Associations). The organization of these congresses shows the ability and vision of the women of Cuba. Twenty-five years ago, at the termination of the period of Spanish misgovernment, the percentage of illiteracy for the island was 75. The few schools in existence were almost exclusively for boys. The first woman allowed to attend the National University of Havana, Sra. Maria Luisa Dolz, was present in the Congress. Up to very recent times the life of the Cuban woman has been very much restricted by traditions and customs inherited from Europe. It is therefore of great significance that the participants in the Congress included delegates from seventy societies composed entirely of women, and that eighty-three women wrote papers for presentation in the sessions. It is also significant that women from all over the island discussed in public the following subjects: necessity for educating women for practical life; the protection of childhood; reforms in education for women; co-education; physical education for women; care of abnormal children; the working woman in Cuba; right of women to serve on school boards; woman in journalism; the delinquent woman; feminism in Cuba; model reformatories; subject or a citizen?; woman in the civil code; struggle against prostitution; establishment of paternity of illegitimate children; necessity of giving the same rights to illegitimate children as to legitimate; necessity for helping the mother, whether poor or abandoned; etc.

The value of this Congress did not lie merely in the expert knowledge presented in the papers read, for although they were on the whole remarkably good, there was not a single professional case worker present, but in the fact that the women of all grades of society—teachers, physicians, mothers, nurses, working women, club women, charity workers—and of all types of opinion, devoted Catholics, freethinkers, anticlericals, feminists, Protestants, educated and uneducated, met together in a united effort to study the many social problems pressing for solution in Cuban society.

The social workers of the United States who attended the first Conference of Charities and Corrections in Havana in 1902 will be interested to know that a few of the Cuban men and women who were leaders in that Conference were also in attendance at these congresses of women. It is to be hoped that a number of workers from the United States will be able to attend the International Congress on Child Welfare to be held in Havana in November, 1927.

MAY M. JONES

HAVANA, CUBA

*Women and the Miners' Lockout: The Story of the Women's Committee for the Relief of Miners' Wives and Children.* By MARION PHILLIPS. London: Labour Publishing Co., 1927. Pp. 94. 1s. net.

The secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, Mr. A. J. Cook, who contributes a Foreword to this little book, describes it as a record of the greatest effort ever made by the women's section of the Labour movement. "It is the women," he says in speaking of the miners' lockout of 1926, "who made the great sacrifice. Therefore we shall never forget how, led by Dr. Marion Phillips, chief woman officer of the Labour Party, the Labour women all over the country with energy and devotion set themselves the task of feeding the miners' wives and children." Dr. Phillips' account of women's part in financing a great labor dispute is unique because it is probably the only book that will ever be written about the Great Strike that contains no controversial matter whatever. As the author says, those who devoted themselves to the work of the women's committee were, like an industrial Red Cross society, "occupied entirely in the task of succour and in combating the cruel effects of an industrial war of attrition carried on against women and children."

The story of the organization of the Committee and the methods used to collect approximately \$1,500,000—which, it must be remembered, is a larger sum in England than in the United States—make interesting reading and show that the secret of the successful "drive" is by no means the exclusive possession of Americans.

An especially interesting chapter on "What Public Authorities Failed to Do" deals with the attitude of the poor-law officials and the school authorities who have the right to give free meals to school children, toward the problem of relief to the families of the strikers. This is an old poor-law problem in England, and the method of settling it is rarely satisfactory to labor.

Valiant attempts were made to supply clothing and to keep women and children dry shod in an English winter. One reads of miners' wives who cut up their underclothing for their children and had none themselves; of parents who carried their children to school because the children were without shoes.

One of the activities of the Committee was arranging prolonged holidays for some 2,500 of the children of strikers with families in and about London. This experiment seems to have been carefully supervised, and the Committee believed it to be of great value not only because it released the children temporarily from the poverty at home, but also because it created new bonds between the people within and the people without the coalfields. Some of the children had never before been in a train. Many had never been in any town but a mining village, and they were taken for a time out of their narrow circumstances into a larger life.

The story of the Women's Committee is an interesting human story of generosity and unselfish devotion, and Dr. Phillips has told it well.

E. ABBOTT

*Tools and the Man* ("Studies in English and Comparative Literature").

By HELEN DRUSILLA LOCKWOOD, Ph.D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1927. Pp. 9-244. \$3.00.

This interesting comparative study of the French workingman and English chartists, which deals with the working-class writers in France and England during the fourth and fifth decades in the nineteenth century, has great interest for American social workers. It is not so much that Dr. Lockwood came to this study through her experience and contact with adult workers whose educational opportunity she was trying to widen, as that those decades in England are interwoven with American programs of social reform, and the workers not only of France but of England are far less known to students of those reforms than are the leaders from the more fortunate economic classes. Her theme is the essential value of the aesthetic in the life of the people and the inevitable necessity under any system of life and of industrial organization that the workers themselves find a medium for the expression of their aspirations, "see their work in relation to humanity, gain a release for their imagination."

In the decades under discussion attempts were being made in England to deal with the problems of the industrial revolution, of the Reform of Parliament, the great factory acts, the reform of the poor law, the repeal of the corn laws, the organization of the Rochdale pioneers, the rise and fall of Chartism. In France, too, industry was reorganized with disturbing consequences. There were industrial disputes, great migrations to the towns, sickness and grave distress, and the dreams of reform in the establishment of public workshops and in the participation of workers in the government. Dr. Lockwood selects, first, Agricol Perdiguier, a French joiner, and Thomas Cooper, an English dyer, as representatives of the workers in the two countries who built the foundations of a working-class literature. She traces the current of their lives and quotes from their writings sufficiently to make her point that, as in the earlier times, when the human demand for self-expression had even in times of great poverty and misery left its monuments of cathedrals, ballads, songs of heroes, so in this time of universal suffering, expression in poetry or beautiful prose offered release to the human spirit. Besides the chapter dealing with Perdiguier and Cooper, there are the following: "Poverty! It is Slavery," "The Workingman Seeking an Outlet," "The Appearance of the Self-educated Workingman Poet in France," "The Workers' Literature of Class-Consciousness," "The Workers' Purely Literary Expression," and a concluding chapter in which the author states the dilemma presented by the Marxian doctrine of mass production and collective control and the demand of the human soul for expression and of the community for the interpretation of the experience through which all pass but which is by no means understood by all.

S. P. B.

*Economic and Social Conditions in France during the Eighteenth Century.*

By HENRI SÉE. Translated by Edwin H. Zeydel. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927. Pp. xix+245. \$3.00.

This interesting volume is especially timely for social workers whose attention is directed by the program of the proposed international Conference of Social Work in Paris in July, 1928, to the development of social agencies and organizations in France. The conditions existing in the eighteenth century are described, and the reader is prepared to understand the development since the Revolution and during the nineteenth century. The classification of French social groups is based on the forms of property on which each class lived, land property (rural) and personal, commercial, or industrial property (urban) rather than on legal considerations, and the economic factors are especially stressed. The thirteen chapters discuss land property; its distribution; the population of France; the peasants and agriculture; the clergy; the nobility; parliamentary nobility and administrative nobility; petty industries; the trades and guilds; commercial development in the eighteenth century; industrial development in the eighteenth century; the classes of workmen and merchants; the financiers; high and middle bourgeoisie; poverty and its relief; the wishes of the various social classes in 1789.

There are especially interesting points in the discussion of several of the social groups. For example, the failure on the part of the "High Clergy" in the performance of their duties, social, spiritual, or educational, is pointed out (p. 70); and the conditions of apprenticeship in different groups of trades (p. 123) will interest students of apprenticeship in relation to child labor and modern industrial education. The most significant chapter, however, is the one on "Poverty and Its Relief," in which the poverty both in rural sections and in the cities is briefly portrayed, and the impotence of private charity is revealed. The state had been concerned in an earlier period with the repression of mendicity; but the reforms of Turgot and Necker had otherwise done little in the way of giving aid, while the foundations established in the Middle Ages for the care of the sick and the giving of alms had largely disappeared (p. 214). With the end of the century came the workshops and the *bureaux de bienfaisance* and the extension of medical assistance. But no methods of relief could be effective without an improvement in economic and social conditions. "Although in the nineteenth century the progress of the great industries produced many evils and considerable suffering, especially in the cities, it is nevertheless true that by abolishing the manorial system and favoring property ownership on the part of the peasants, the French Revolution helped to improve the economic condition of the rural population. During the nineteenth century poverty was strikingly relieved in the rural sections. Mendicity and vagrancy, those curses that were denounced by the memorials of 1789, disappeared almost entirely" (p. 220).

S. P. B.



*Rural Sociology.* By CARL C. TAYLOR. New York: Harper & Bros., 1926. Pp. 509. \$3.00.

*Rural Sociology* is a systematic presentation of a large and varied body of fact and theory concerning the social problems growing out of rural life. The volume is divided into three parts. In the first part, the underlying conditions, especially economic, that have given rise to the "rural problem" are discussed under such heads as "Farming and Farm People," "Land and Society," and "The Rural Standard of Living." In the second part, the various elements of the rural problem, as education, recreation, health, religion, and art, are dealt with. Not only is each aspect of the problem dispassionately analyzed, but a practical, working program is suggested, which would go far toward introducing into rural life those elements of social well-being so essential to a contented, efficient agricultural population. No discussion of the rural problem is complete without reference to the attitudes that the farmer maintains toward life in general and toward institutions such as government and the educational system. These attitudes are analyzed in the third part of this volume in a sympathetic manner born from intimate contact with the farmer and his thinking.

Dr. Taylor offers a scientific approach to a social problem that has been fogged by sentimentality and neglect, and his book should be of great value both to the rural social worker and to the student of rural problems. The material is well organized and presented in an interesting style. For those wishing to pursue the subject in greater detail, there is a well-selected list of source materials at the end of each chapter and a liberal use of footnote citations. On the whole, the book is suggestive and stimulating and should lead to further study and experimentation in this field of rural life, which is, as the writer points out, fundamental to all other modes of life and economic activities.

ELINOR NIMS

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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*Rechte unehelicher Kinder aus den Sozialgesetzen.* By DR. HANNA SCHERPNER DREXEL. Langensalza: Herman Beyer Söhne, 1926. Pp. 114. M. 5.50.

*Der Unehelichen schutz im Deutschen Reich.* By C. J. KLUMKER, Archiv für Sozialwissenschaften und Sozialpolitik. Volume LV, Nr. 1. Tübingen: I. C. B. Mohr, 1926. Pp. 40. M. 1.

The first of these two volumes, which is said to be especially for the use of social workers and official guardians, contains a summary of all the German laws dealing with the illegitimate child and his rights. The question of compulsory social insurance receives particular attention.

The second book is by the well-known president of the German Association of Official Guardians, Christian J. Klumker, who has fought for many years for



the establishment of official guardianship for illegitimate children. In this pamphlet he shows the beginning of this movement, its development, and its connection with the attempts to secure better conditions for all foster children.

The life of illegitimate children is particularly endangered in the first days after birth. Therefore, it is of great importance that the community be responsible for the welfare of every illegitimate child as soon as he is born. This is provided for in the German Federal Child Welfare Law of 1922, which makes official guardianship obligatory for the whole country.

Dr. Klumker discusses in these pages many other interesting questions relating to the problem of illegitimacy in Germany.

RUTH WEILAND

GERMAN RED CROSS  
BERLIN

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*Taschenbuch für die Wohlfahrtspflege.* Von Deutsches Archiv für Jugendwohlfahrt. Berlin: F. A. Herbig, 1927. Pp. 174. M. 2.50.

A new edition of this handbook is prepared annually for the social workers of Germany by Dr. Gertrude Bäumer, director of the Children's Department in the German Home Office.

The new child welfare legislation in Germany dates from 1922. Since that time the following important laws have been passed by the Reichstag: in 1922 the Federal Child Welfare Law (Reichsgesetz für Jugendwohlfahrt); in 1923 the Law for Juvenile Courts (Jugendgerichtsgesetz); in 1924 the Federal Law for Public Welfare and Subvention (Reichsverordnung über die Fürsorgepflicht); in 1925, Amendment of the Child Labor Law of 1903 (Abänderung des Gesetzes betreffend Kinderarbeit in gewerblichen Betrieben vom 30. März, 1903); in 1926, Law to Protect Children and Young Persons from Indecent and Immoral Books (Gesetz zur Bewährung der Jugend vor Schund und Schmutzschriften).

This book also contains a survey of medical supervision in Thuringia, an account of juvenile tramps from the city of Hanover, and a very good index of the most important German organizations for child welfare work, welfare of adults, organizations for social hygiene, the associations of social workers, and an index of social journals, reviews, and cyclopedias.

The cover of the book bears as an inscription the first paragraph of the new German Child Welfare Law: "Each German child has the right to training for physical, mental, and social development."

The book is widely used by social workers in Germany.

R. W.

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*The Motion Picture in Its Economic and Social Aspects.* *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. CXXVIII (November, 1926), No. 217. Pp. 195.

This volume was issued under the joint editorship of Professor Clyde L. King, of the University of Pennsylvania, and Frank A. Tichenor, of the Eastern

Film Corporation, and under the general advisory oversight of Colonel Jason S. Joy, W. A. Johnston, George Kleine, and George A. Blair, representing the industry; and Professor J. L. Gillin, the president of the American Sociological Society, Mary McSkimmon, formerly president of the National Education Association, and Harold W. Dodds, of the National Municipal League.

The material is presented in five parts, of which the first is devoted to the subject of the industry, its development, its structure, equipment, financing, and prospects; the second, to the picture itself, its relation to art, its basis in science, the problem of lighting, the literary questions involved, and the international news aspects of the subject. The third part presents the subject of the actual and possible services to industry by the moving picture, foreign trade, the stimulation of trade, the Safety First movement, and foreign trade in films. The fourth and fifth parts discuss the subjects in which social workers would be most immediately interested, namely, the educational and social value of the pictures and the question of censorship.

Under the section on education are articles on the classroom use of films, on their service to the farmer, their use in health and medical education work, and as adjuncts to the library. The chapter, in Part V, on official censorship legislation, by Ford H. MacGregor, contains an extremely interesting and comprehensive statement of the legislation in the United States dealing with the subject of control. The statutes that have been enacted by the United States Congress and in the various states are summarized, and also the ordinances in the various cities are given. There are cited, too, the court decisions in which questions concerning censorship have been raised, and the action taken by foreign countries is described also. The dilemma presented by the essential conflict between the ideal of freedom for the press, the church, the drama, and the necessity of protecting young persons in their quest for recreation has not been solved, and the more widely information of this kind can be shared, the more reasonable and intelligent will efforts at the development of such control be. By an examination of the experiments in other communities, with their failures and their partial successes, waste effort may be reduced and an approach to some form of satisfactory agreement between the conflicting interests be reached.

S. P. B.

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#### BRIEF NOTICES

*Welfare Problems in New York City Studied and Reported upon from 1915 through 1925.* By SHELBY M. HARRISON and ALLEN EATON. New York: Welfare Council, 1926. Pp. xii+84.

This report, prepared by the Department of Surveys and Exhibits of the Russell Sage Foundation, brings together in convenient form a classified list of all the studies of welfare problems that were made in New York City in the decade following 1915. The report was prepared at the request of the Welfare Council

of New York City, and Mr. Hodson, in his Preface, emphasizes the importance to the work of the Council of a full knowledge of the facts as a first essential of community planning. This report will enable the social workers of New York City to secure "an accurate knowledge of social needs and social resources" without the waste of time and duplication of effort so often involved in compiling the data necessary for the planning of social programs.

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*Guide to the Unemployment Insurance Acts.* By H. C. EMMERSON and E. C. P. Lascelles. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1926. Pp. viii+172. 4s.

This small book contains a convenient summary of the various British unemployment insurance acts and their administration. For example, the conditions and disqualifications for receiving benefit are not only summarized, but examined in the light of the umpire's decisions. Since these decisions form the "case law" on the subject of unemployment insurance, they are of great importance. Incidentally, attention should be called to the fact that in the United States the decisions of the immigration officials ought to be as conveniently available in published form as are these decisions in cases arising under the British unemployment statutes. They are administrative law and they should be printed for consultation and study.

This book will be especially valuable to American students who wish to be guided through the technicalities of the most complicated branch of the British social insurance system.

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*Champions of Peace.* By HEBE SPAULL. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1926. Pp. 112. 3s. 6d.

This book by the author of *Women Peace-Makers* and *The Fight for Peace* contains a series of very pleasantly readable chapters containing the life-stories of eight of the founders of, and distinguished workers for, the League of Nations. The stories are called: (1) "A White House Story" (dealing with Woodrow Wilson); (2) "The Soldier Who Strove to Abolish War" (General Smuts of South Africa); (3) "The Man Who Helped to Make the Covenant" (Lord Cecil); (4) "A Japanese Knight's Story" (Dr. Nitobe of Geneva); (5) "The Story of Nansen of the North"; (6) "The Prisoner Who Became Premier" (Hjalmar Branting of Sweden); (7) "A Dream of Five Hundred Years Old That Became True" (the story of Edouard Benès of Czecho-slovakia); (8) "The Peasant Boy Who Became Premier" (Mr. J. Ramsay MacDonald). The stories are all told in simple narrative style for popular reading.

*Viscount Leverhulme.* By HIS SON. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927. Pp. 325. \$5.00.

The subject of this biography was the creator of Port Sunlight, one of the earliest and most famous of the garden cities built by English employers and managed on co-partnership lines. Port Sunlight was founded in 1887 by Mr. William H. Lever (later Lord Leverhulme) not far from Liverpool on a site of open fields and marshes with some bordering slum property consisting of squalid ill-kept cottages. When the new factory was started, Mr. Lever said, as the spokesman for his soap company: "It is my hope and my brother's hope some day to build houses in which our work people will be able to live and be comfortable—semidetached houses, with garden back and front, in which they will be able to know more about the science of life than they can in a back slum, and in which they will learn that there is more enjoyment in life than in the mere going to and returning from work and looking forward on Saturday night to draw their wages" (p. 49).

The Cadbury village at Bournville, which Port Sunlight most resembles, is better known to American visitors, but the two estates had much in common. The book contains an interesting account of various forms of "welfare work" undertaken at Port Sunlight, of the industrial history of the great business which Lord Leverhulme founded, and of his many philanthropic activities. He was a pioneer in adopting the eight-hour day and advocated the six-hour day, although he was never able to proceed with its adoption.

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*Practical Socialism.* By CHRISTOPHER ADDISON. London: Labor Publishing Co., 1926. 2 vols., pp. 96; 96. Each, 1s.

The author of these little volumes was a member of the British government throughout the entire period of the War. As undersecretary, and later secretary, of the ministry of munitions he had much to do with the national factories of the war period. His experience led him to think that this experiment in state control of industry was a signal success, judged by the two great tests of output and price. Especially interesting is the section dealing with women's wages. Dr. Addison is undoubtedly justified in saying that:

The powers which the state acquired and exercised for two years after the autumn of 1915 did more to improve the condition of women wage-earners than had been achieved by all the agitation, by all the sweated trades legislation and the other piecemeal efforts of the previous fifty years.

The wages of women workers before the war, when as was nearly always the case, they were employed by the day or week, averaged about 12s. per week. . . .

By May, 1917, the usual rate for women workers had become 25s. for a 48-hour week, with extra pay for overtime. Women employed on piece-work—as well as a great many of those employed by the hour—earned much more than this (I. 72-73, 75).

No wonder that women's deputations who tried to keep the minimum of a pound a week ordered in Circular L2 regarded it as "a charter for the working woman."

During the last year of the war Dr. Addison served as minister of reconstruction, and after the close of the war he was for a time minister of health. Now, as a member of the Labor party, his comments on the work of various official committees and departments with which he was intimately connected are of no little interest.

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*The Delinquent Child and the Law.* By RAYMOND W. MURRAY. Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1926. Pp. vi+116.

The literature dealing with problems of delinquent youth and the agencies for the treatment of young wrongdoers is rapidly growing. This volume makes an interesting contribution to the history of the development of legislation concerning children in the District of Columbia. The antecedents of this legislation are, of course, to be found in the colonial law of Maryland, which, like the law of the other colonies and the English common law, was very harsh, and in the reforms connected with the Pennsylvania movement for penal reform, whose spokesman, Representative Thompson, found in 1829 an opportunity to point out on the floor of Congress the horrors of the existing institutions and to contrast with them the newly erected penitentiaries in Philadelphia and in Auburn.

The penitentiary of the District dates from 1827; the Reform School as a separate institution from 1870; the District Juvenile Court as an institution dates from 1902, although its statutory existence begins of course, from the passage of the Juvenile Court Law in 1909, which created a court separate and apart from the older police court. In Dr. Murray's opinion the "hopeful trends" in this field are to be found in the development of private social agencies which co-operate with the court and in the widening use of preventive devices and of co-operative effort in which the families share.

## PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

*Greek Refugee Settlement* (Translation). Publications of the League of Nations (Geneva). II. Economic and Financial. 1926 II. 32 (With 67 illustrations, a map of the settlement of Rural and Urban Refugees, and an Ethnographic Map of Macedonia). Pp. xvi+216. \$0.50.<sup>1</sup>

This comprehensive account of the operations of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, which was established by the League of Nations nearly four years ago, is valuable and interesting.

The problems created by the influx of 1,400,000 refugees into a small country with a population of only 5,000,000 had tragic and far-reaching consequences. We have here an account of "disaster relief" on a vast scale involving destitution, misery, disease, and death in innumerable forms. The chairman of the Commission rightly suggests that it requires some effort of the imagination to picture the possible

political consequences of such a catastrophe as that which befell Greece in 1922—consequences to the nation itself, to its neighbors, and from them to the world at large. Habits of order and respect for law disappear when a man sees his wife and children dying of want, and men become anarchists. There were not lacking those who fish in such waters, and who use for that purpose the poacher's apparatus of dynamite. Relief of despair on such a scale is as much a political necessity as a humane responsibility.

The refugee movement is a legacy of the war, and an event of great importance in the history of world-migration movements. Although material is available for an extensive inquiry and one calling for detailed documentation and field investigations, the present report is a more modest one, drawing attention to the essential part of what has been done by the Greek Commission.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> League publications may be purchased from the World Peace Foundation, Boston, Massachusetts.

<sup>2</sup> Other accounts of the refugee problem will be found in the following reports of the League of Nations: *Armenian and Russian Refugees* (XIII Refugees 1926, XIII. 1 & 2); *Armenian Refugee Settlement Commission Report to Council* (II. Economic and Financial. 1926, II. 19); *Conference on Russian and Armenian Refugee Questions* (VIII. Transits. 1926, VIII. 5); *Report by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen*, president of the Commission Appointed to Study the Question of the Settlement of Armenian Refugees, July, 1925; *Report on the Work of the High Commission for Refugees*, presented by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen to the Fourth Assembly (A. 30. 1923. XII); *Report on the Work for the Refugees*, made by International Labour Office, 1925; *Scheme for the Settlement of Bulgarian Refugees* (II Economic and Financial. 1926. II. 53); *Settlement of Bulgarian Refugees: Scheme for an International Loan* (II. Economic and Financial. 1926. II. 34).

The Commission consists of four members, two appointed by the Greek government with the approval of the Council, and two others (one English and one American) appointed by the Council. The chairman has been an American. The Commission has employed very few foreigners, on the theory that a Greek problem should be left to the Greeks, and in the belief that the Greeks were competent enough to do the work.

Special efforts were made to provide occupation, settlement on farms, programs of urban construction; the Greek government assigned to the Commission about a million and a quarter acres of land. The refugees were mainly of two classes: (1) those who fled from Asia Minor during the autumn of 1922 "in a wretched condition, starving, ill, stripped of all they had, nearly all of them mourning the loss of near relatives, a veritable human wreckage; these poured in like a torrent and in complete disorder." (2) Refugees from Turkey (Asia Minor, Thrace) who had to emigrate in virtue of the Convention of Lausanne, providing for the exchange of Greeks in Turkey and Turks in Greece; these refugees left their homes in the autumn of 1923 under less tragic conditions.

Other refugees poured in from the Russian Caucasus and Bulgaria; others were not Greeks at all, but included Circassians and a large number of Armenians. The country was inundated from all sides by waves of refugees.

Public buildings of all sorts, churches, schools, theaters, warehouses, and sheds were requisitioned to shelter the newcomers. After two years the railway stations were still encumbered with refugee encampments, and after four years refugees were still sheltered in tents both summer and winter.

The government was assisted in the great task of providing relief by foreign charitable associations. The American Red Cross fed more than half a million refugees for a period of six months; the Near East Relief took particular charge of orphans; and assistance was also given by the British "Save the Children" fund and the All-British Appeal. But the Greeks themselves, although exhausted by their long military efforts and their internal differences, did their best to meet this new catastrophe. The old philanthropic associations and the communes helped, and new humanitarian organizations developed; at Athens, Salonika, and other large towns, and even in many small places, the people made new sacrifices to meet the new need that had arisen.

Separate chapters deal with the rural and urban refugees. Through the Minister of Assistance, more than 22,000 dwellings have been built for the urban refugees; and, alas, forty-five orphanages have been founded and are maintained by the state in this little country. The orphan asylums provide for 6,680 so-called "orphans" of both sexes, while 1,425 "orphan" refugees are "being brought up in about ten private establishments maintained by endowment." The report also explains that since 1922 the American Near East Relief has collected in Turkey 18,268 orphans, mostly Armenians. The majority of these children have either been restored to distant relatives in Greece, who have consented to take charge of them, or placed out on a maintenance or a wage basis in families



and businesses or on farms. A few have been adopted, and many girls have married. At the time of the writing of the report the Near East Relief had only three orphanages, at Athens, Syra, and Corinth, including in all 2,865 children, of whom 1,479 are Armenians.

The settlement will undoubtedly have important and long-time effects. The report may be a little too brightly colored at some points—for example, in its picture of “the members of the Greek family, reunited and mingling their lives, ideas, and special customs, becoming welded into an increasingly compact community, which will maintain its individual character by reason of the very variety of constituents.” The report, perhaps, is also a little overconfident as to the “additional riches and strength” that the new element in the population may have brought with it. But the addition to its population may well affect the tendency and progress of economic life in Greece; and some of the early effects are already visible, such as peopling of the country districts, extension and improvement of crops, increase in national production, both agricultural and industrial. In the capital, as in the provincial towns, new industries are springing up, and trade is recovering, despite certain financial and fiscal difficulties.

The moral effects of the work of settlement should also be noted. The economic restoration has probably brought with it a kind of moral courage that has come with the understanding that defeat does not mean certain disaster. The report emphasizes the absence of begging and crime in Greece as evidence of the sound condition of the country.

A few other points should be noted. One is that the money sent by Greeks in America has in many cases enabled peasants to round off their holdings and enlarge their estates; another, that the tide of emigration has been stayed, the peasants kept at home and attached more firmly to the soil.

The main work of agricultural colonization was carried out in Macedonia, with Thrace second, and Crete third. The other regions received only a small number of colonists. The reasons for this are interesting: The failure of certain settlements is said to be due

to the haste with which the Commission had to act. For instance, the refugees from Cappadocia who were landed in Crete or in the Epirus were seen to be slowly dying of wretchedness; they gazed sadly at their olive-trees as if the latter were some unfathomable mystery. Remonstrance and advice were of no avail, and the refugees had to be transported elsewhere. On the other hand, their compatriots who had been settled on the wild hills between Thessaly, Macedonia, and the Epirus, tilled the soil and built with energy, displaying an admirable genius in protecting themselves against the snow and cold and in exploiting the beech forests.

The fact is that, apart from the special constitution of a peasant which makes him unable to engage in cultivation other than that to which he is accustomed, there is a question of affinity between the man and the soil which cannot be ignored with impunity. Take a Thracian away from his monotonous plains of waving corn, and he would be like one lost; the richest orchard would not dispel his longing for a yoke of kine to draw the plough. Thus the refugees who roam the country in quest of a new home-

land are guided by a subtle instinct which, more than any system, has protected them from error in their final choice of habitat.

We have seen mountaineers from the Pontus slowly toil towards the high mountain forests to build their dwellings on the arid hillsides which remind them of their own rocks, far from the plain which they despise, and where they were decimated by fever.

Sea-folk from Makri and the Dardanelles patiently followed the coast, sniffing the familiar breezes, scouting out a shoal of fish by the ripples on the surface, and finally deciding to settle in some little bay protected by a promontory against the west wind, which, in their country, was most to be feared.

The agricultural experts of the Commission have stimulated cotton growing and the cultivation of hemp in Macedonia. Efforts have been made to interest the settlers in other new crops.

Refugees from Asia Minor included some 30,000 women and girls who had earned their living as expert carpet makers, and with the help of Greek capitalists these refugees have been re-establishing the carpet industry in Greece.

The book contains numerous interesting illustrations and a valuable ethnographic map of Macedonia, which shows the difference between the ethnical situation in 1912 and the present situation after the settlement of the refugees had completed the Hellenization of Macedonia.

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*Methods of Conducting Family Budget Enquiries.* International Labour Office (Studies and Reports, Series N [Statistics], No. 9). Geneva, 1926. Pp. 100. \$0.40.

This small volume is one of a series of studies of the methods of dealing with various important problems in the field of labor statistics. An attempt is made in this, as in the other volumes of the series, to set out concretely the methods that have been tried out in connection with different budget inquiries. Private investigations are not dealt with. The methods used in the more important official studies in various countries are discussed and compared.

The present study was undertaken in consequence of a resolution adopted by the Second International Conference of Labour Statistics (Geneva, 1925), as follows: "It is desirable that in those countries in which no family budget enquiries have been held since 1920-21, such enquiries should be undertaken as soon as economic conditions are sufficiently favourable, and if possible not later than the year 1928."

The Conference was primarily interested in family budgets as a basis for the calculation of cost-of-living index numbers, since the relative importance of various commodities to the workingman can be most conveniently ascertained by means of budget studies. The problem is one of international importance, if cost-of-living index numbers are to be calculated on a basis which will make international comparisons possible.

It is recognized, however, that family budget inquiries have many other

uses, and the volume in hand will be helpful to many who are not concerned with the preparation of index numbers.

The chief interest of the International Labour Office undoubtedly lies in the hope that the same principles may be adopted in different countries in conducting family budget inquiries.

The difficulties involved in trying to secure, on the one hand, a sufficiently large number of budgets and, on the other hand, detailed and carefully kept accounts are recognized.

In the section dealing with the collecting of data, including problems of duration of the inquiry and methods of securing budgets, it is interesting to find that in a few cases housewives have been given some slight compensation for their work. In an Amsterdam inquiry of 1922 the women who completed the budgets were paid, and in New Zealand prizes were offered for the most accurately kept returns.

With regard to the second subject discussed—scope of information—it is pointed out that the particulars called for on the schedules will vary according to the object of the inquiry:

Where the object is to obtain statistics as to general conditions and standards of living, detailed questions of a general character, including some regarding the composition of the family, together with questions as to income and expenditure are necessary. If the enquiry is being conducted to provide weights for the calculation of cost-of-living index numbers, questions in some detail may be adequate (p. 26).

The great number of details in the complicated schedule used by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in its cost-of-living studies of 1918-19 are commented on, but it is pointed out that in a country like the United States, where the standard of living is high, consumption is more varied than in countries with lower standards, and consequently more detail is necessary. "For the purpose of most enquiries it appears unnecessary to adopt such an elaborate series of questions as that used in the United States enquiry" (p. 36).

The compilation of results is also discussed. General averages covering all families are usually calculated and are said to be "for most purposes, of greater value than individual budgets" (p. 37).

The collection of schedules published in the Appendix is valuable.

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*The Supervision of Charities: Report of the Home Office Departmental Committee.* London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1927. (Cmd. 2823)  
Pp. 47. 9d.

This Committee was appointed in April, 1925, "to consider and report whether any form of supervision is desirable over collecting charities (that is, to say, charities which seek financial support from the public) and if so to make recommendations in the matter."

The report deals (1) with the existing law and practice, including in the discussion endowed and partly endowed charities as well as the charities wholly dependent on public contributions. Attention is called first to the various charitable trusts acts, dating from 1853 and repeatedly amended and elaborated, and to the acts providing for the incorporation of charities, to the conditions under which royal charters have been granted, to the institutions registered under the lunacy and mental deficiency acts, and to the institutions and agencies with which the Ministry of Health enters into relationships through the grant in aid. Voluntary hospitals, venereal disease clinics, tuberculosis sanatoria, maternity and child welfare centers are also discussed. In the case of all these agencies and institutions the central authority—that is, the Ministry of Health or the board of control—exercises effective supervision over the care given the patients or wards, but has no responsibility for the collecting or handling of funds. Supervision extends therefore only to questions of adequacy of funds and treatment of patients, and not to questions of source or of method of collecting.

It was the rapid multiplication of war collections and charities and of charities for the blind that aroused interest and called for additional measures of control. Two acts were passed by Parliament in 1916, a war charities act and a police, factories, etc., act, containing a section on miscellaneous matters which authorized the police authority to make regulations with respect to the places where and the conditions under which persons might be permitted to collect money or sell articles for charitable or other purposes. Under this second act model regulations were drawn up by the Home Office and adopted by a large number of police authorities, including those of nearly all the borough police forces.

The War Charities act required—but made provision for certain exemptions—registration with a designated authority and the payment of a fee before any appeal could be made in behalf of a charity. To obtain registration it is necessary to show (1) that the charity is administered by a committee of responsible persons not less than three in number who shall keep minutes of their meetings, recording the names of those present, (2) an approved system of bookkeeping, showing receipts and expenditures, (3) the deposit of the funds in separate account at a specified bank, (4) that the records and accounts are open to inspection by proper authorities. There are also provisions for dealing with the charities that either (a) do not register, or, (b) having registered, do not comply with the requirements of the act.

The provisions of this act were in 1920 extended with modifications to charities for the blind. These acts failed to provide for strong central control, with the result that the administration has been far more rigid in London than in many sections of England. That is, the proportion of charities refused registration and the number once registered and later stricken from the list is far greater in London than in most other districts in the kingdom.

This public control is, of course, not the only control exercised to prevent

fraud and reduce waste in the administration of funds devoted to benevolent purposes. The Charity Organization Society, London Mendicity Society, and a number of other private agencies attempt to obtain and to supply information similar to that provided by the various indorsement agencies in the United States. In spite of all these arrangements, however, the Committee believe that there exists a very considerable amount of fraud and waste, and they discuss the possibility of setting up a system of registration involving close supervision over the whole country. When, however, the relatively small amount of fraud practiced, the very great danger of interference, and the cost were considered, the Committee decided against any such program.

The final recommendations are that the charity commissioners already provided for under the charitable trusts acts of 1853-55 should be given enlarged powers to inquire into the affairs of any collecting charity represented as not carried on in good faith for charitable purposes or not properly administered, and to deal with it in appropriate fashion. They also recommend that the minimum age for street collectors be raised to eighteen, and that there be instituted a system of licensing for door-to-door collectors, for collections in public places or places of entertainment, and for boxes in shops and public houses. In some interesting paragraphs the Committee discuss the responsibilities, not only of persons who serve as "patrons," but also of the giving public. The report will be valuable to social workers in the United States who are interested in increasing the control exercised over private charities by state departments of public welfare and other authorities of that general character.

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*Report on an Investigation into the Employment and Insurance History of a Sample of Persons Insured against Unemployment in Great Britain.*  
Great Britain Ministry of Labour. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1927. Pp. 108. 3s. 6d. net.

This report follows some earlier studies of unemployed persons made by the British Ministry of Labour. The present study presents certain data relating to the composition (age, occupation, marital state, etc.) as well as the unemployment insurance record of a sample of the whole body of insured work people, including both employed and unemployed persons. The wide scope of the unemployment insurance acts is shown by the statement that the records contain 17,500,000 insurance accounts,—including, however, the accounts of persons who have passed out of insurance. Those in charge of the inquiry decided that a sample of "something under 100,000" would be sufficient for the inquiry. Actually, the plan adopted gave a sample of 80,233 accounts, or 4.58 per 1,000. The schedule used in transcribing information from the records is conveniently reprinted in the report (pp. 106-8).

A good understanding of the whole system of unemployment insurance and out-of-work donation will be needed for the interpretation of the results of this

study. Briefly, the report shows that out of all the individuals who had been within the scheme at some time or other after November, 1920, an average of 20.1 per cent (males 17.1 per cent and females 26.7 per cent), have passed out of insurance for various causes. The group of individuals who entered insurance in 1916-17, at least 10 per cent of whom were persons employed on general munitions industries, have on the whole brought less into and taken more out of the unemployment fund since 1920 than other groups of insured persons. The 1916-17 group of course included a good many entrants who would not have found their way into industry except for the scarcity of able-bodied labor caused by the war.

Other conclusions of interest are the following: The percentage rate of unemployment among insured females has been consistently lower than that among insured males. It is clear that age has been a factor in the problem of unemployment from age forty-five onward in the case of males, and age thirty-five onward in the case of females.

The average number of days' benefit drawn by each individual who drew benefit was 146 for males and 88 for females, the apparently better record in the case of females being due in part to the lower rate of unemployment for females during the period.

Of every 100 male claimants in the sample, 52 had dependents, consisting of 48 dependent adults and 87 dependent children. Of the female claimants, only 2.1 per cent were drawing benefit in respect of dependents. It is also of interest that 33.3 per cent of the men with dependent children were drawing benefit in respect of one child only, 26.1 per cent in respect of two children, 18.3 per cent in respect of three children, and 22.3 per cent in respect of four or more children.

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*Report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent*  
(Board of Education). London: His Majesty's Stationery Office,  
1926. Pp. xxiv+339. 2s. paper; 3s. cloth.

This elaborate discussion of the so-called "post-primary years," which should be considered together with the report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Education and Industry (see the June, 1927, number of this *Review*, p. 347), presents first an account of the development of full-time post-primary education in England and Wales from 1800 to 1918, and the facts of the present situation under the so-called "Fisher Act," in which American students of English social progress were greatly interested. There follow a series of chapters in which it is pointed out that the problem of the education of the adolescent is by no means limited to England and Wales, but is recognized by all modern countries as one still to be satisfactorily solved; and the situation in certain other countries is outlined in some valuable appendixes. These introductory chapters are followed by very detailed discussions of the following subjects: the lines of advance, which are so numerous and so devious that the reader is uncertain as



to the outcome; curricula; bias in modern schools; the staffing and equipment of modern schools; the admission of children to post-primary schools; administrative problems; the question of a leaving examination; and the lengthening of school life.

To the American student this last chapter would seem perhaps the most important. It is here pointed out that during the decade 1913-1923 there has been, partly owing to the terms of the Education Act of 1918, under which exemptions were abolished for children under fourteen, and partly owing to the changed attitude toward school on the part of both parents and children brought about by the war, the attendance of children over fourteen years of age increased from 47,066 to 170,893. The committee discussed the proposal that the age of compulsory attendance should be raised (p. 143), and concludes that "it is desirable that a universal system of post-primary education be developed, which should provide for children from eleven to fifteen years, and that after five years the age of compulsory attendance should be raised to fifteen years."

As has been said, the *Report* is very elaborate. Much of the discussion would prove of interest chiefly to the student of educational history. To the general student of social reform the striking feature of this and the earlier report is their discouragement in a situation in which education is still regarded by many as a luxury to be shared reluctantly but perhaps necessarily, instead of as the only basis of sound national life. They recommend the raising of the school-leaving age, but they have no very great hope, and at a time when the president of the Board of Education, Lord Eustace Percy, is allowing the powers of the Local Education Authority to be overruled in Carmarthenshire in connection with the scale of salaries (*New Statesman*, XXIX [June 11, 1927], 267) this pessimism seems justified. He is appealing to the sacredness of their discretion as a substitute for a universal raising of the school-leaving age as recommended by this Committee (*ibid.*, April 2, 1927, p. 758). There may be no universal recipe for prosperity, but the American has faith in the extension of public education through the university levels of achievement.

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*Study of Social Work in Berkeley.* By MARGERY CARPENTER. Commission of Public Charities, Berkeley, Calif., 1926. Pp. 78.

This very interesting study was undertaken on the initiative of the Berkeley Chamber of Commerce and with the co-operation of the Commission of Public Charities and an advisory group of citizens. The object of the study was to give as complete a picture as possible of social work in Berkeley in 1925, including a statement of the relation of social work to general social problems. The report is presented in four sections, of which the first deals with those who seem to need service; the second with the agencies; the third with the cost, including the sources of support and a comparison with the cost in 1914; and the fourth with changes in ideals and standards since 1914 and a forecast of probable developments in the next decade.



The task of self-scrutiny in any community is a difficult one. In this inquiry, the records of such public authorities as the state departments of public welfare and of institutions, certain county officials, the city departments of police, health, and education, the city auditor, and the Juvenile Probation Department were consulted, public officials were interviewed, and the co-operation of private agencies and individuals was obtained. The section on "Cost" is perhaps the one presenting the greatest difficulty. The figures assembled show that residents of Berkeley contributed \$235,000 to the state and county tax funds used for charitable purposes, and the proportion of those funds expended for residents of Berkeley was in round numbers only \$165,000. In other words, the proportion contributed by the wealth of Berkeley taxpayers was relatively larger than the demands on the funds made by residents in need of care. Berkeley wealth paid toward the maintenance of a level of county and city well-being.

A specially interesting section is that in which the changes of the past decade are examined. Miss Carpenter finds better records and better co-operation made possible by a Confidential Exchange, better use of volunteers, definite progress in the standards of work, and interesting differences between the occasions for offering aid or service. For example, in 1914, one-third of the cases in which services were rendered presented problems then diagnosed as moral in character, whereas the proportion in 1925 was 13 per cent. Drink seemed the source of dependency in 11 out of 148 cases in 1914, and in 1925 in 1 out of 238 cases.

The report indicates that Berkeley can afford to provide for present needs. Although the figures on per capita income and taxes are not available, Berkeley would apparently confirm the belief expressed by Mr. Lawson Purdy at the Cleveland meeting of the National Conference, that "there is money enough in every city to support needed social work."

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*Women in Tennessee Industries: A Study of Hours, Wages, and Working Conditions* (U.S. Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 56). Washington, 1927. Pp. vii+120. \$0.20.

*Women in Delaware Industries: A Study of Hours, Wages, and Working Conditions* (U.S. Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 58). Washington, 1927. Pp. vi+156. \$0.25.

These two studies of women in industries in the states of Tennessee and Delaware were made at the request, and with the co-operation, of the departments of labor of the states concerned. The method employed is that followed by the Bureau in its previous inquiries relating to women in industry in other states. An attempt is made to secure data from representative establishments, including both large plants and small, in industries employing the largest numbers of

women workers in the state. In Tennessee information is based on material gathered for 16,596 women working in factories, stores, and laundries in twenty-seven cities. In Delaware 4,176 women working in stores, factories, laundries, hotels, restaurants, and canneries in twenty-nine cities were included. Further details as to the basis of choice of women workers, industries, or towns are not given.

Wage statistics for these studies are secured from pay-rolls for one week, considered a normal week in the industry. In Tennessee a week in February was used throughout, but in Delaware different weeks between July and October were chosen on the theory that what was a "normal week" varied from one industry to another. It would be helpful to other investigators if the reports contained the reasons for the choice in each case. Pay-roll data were also compiled for yearly earnings of women who had been employed for not less than forty-four weeks of the year. In one state this group comprised 10 per cent and in the other 20 per cent of the women included in the investigation. Wage data are given in terms of median earnings for industries, localities, time workers, piece workers, and for the state as a whole. Weekly earnings are compared in relation to age, experience, and length of the working day or week. Earnings of Negro women in Tennessee fall significantly below those of the whites, low as those are in some cases; but the number of Negro women included was small, only 1,420 out of a total of 16,596.

The reports contain also data concerning daily and weekly hours of work, a statement of lost time and of overtime, and the resulting variations between the firms' scheduled hours and those actually worked by the women under consideration, information having been secured from the establishment records. Data concerning the age, nativity, marital state, living conditions, schooling, and length of time in the trade were obtained from questionnaires distributed in the plant and filled out by women employees. These data were not secured from the same women for whom pay-roll data were gathered.

These studies, like earlier ones made by the Bureau for other states, are a valuable means of enlisting the interest of the citizens in the labor conditions affecting women workers in their states.

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*Decisions of Courts and Opinions Affecting Labor, 1926* (Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 444). Washington, 1927. Pp. xiii+311. \$0.45.

This is one of the useful annual bulletins of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics dealing with the interpretation of labor law by the courts. The decisions are largely confined to employers' liability and workmen's compensation cases.

*Report of the Oversea Settlement Committee, 1926.* Cmd. 2847. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. Pp. 30. 6d.

*Report of the Oversea Settlement Committee on Their Visit to Canada.* Cmd. 2760. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1926. 1s.

*Report on the Effect on Migration of Schemes of Social Insurance.* Cmd. 2608. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1926. Pp. 31. 6d.

These reports are in the line of direct descent from the British state paper dealing with state-aided emigration from the United Kingdom to the overseas dominions that were published in the first half of the nineteenth century. The revival of interest in this subject since the war has been due to various causes, especially the long-continued unemployment which has naturally turned the thoughts of social reformers and statesmen to the possibility of attracting the unemployed to the open spaces in the lands beyond the seas.

The Oversea Settlement Committee was established in 1922 under the chairmanship of the British Minister for Dominion Affairs, and the first report of the Committee was for the year 1923 (Cmd. 2107).

The report on Canada was undertaken particularly to ascertain what progress had been made by the families who were emigrated in 1925-26 under the so-called "Three Thousand Families Scheme" and followed an earlier report on *Child Migration and Settlement in Canada* (Cmd. 2285; 1924) and other reports on *Conditions Affecting British Settlers in Australia* (Cmd. 2132; 1924) and in *New Zealand* (Cmd. 2167; 1924).

The report of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Effect of the Social Insurance Schemes on Migration from the United Kingdom is especially interesting. On the whole, the Committee find that "whilst the decrease in migration since the war may have been smaller than is commonly supposed, there has been no substantial increase such as might have been expected to follow the passing of the Empire Settlement Act (p. 24)."

And the Committee further conclude that the social insurance laws of the United Kingdom have tended to discourage emigration. The conclusions are summarized briefly in the following paragraphs:

These schemes have an effect in discouraging migration, both directly as a result of the sense of security they induce, and indirectly in that they raise the standards of living in this country, and so counteract to an appreciable extent the attraction of the life of independence offered in the Dominions.

A consideration of each scheme separately shows, in our opinion, that National Health Insurance does not act perceptibly as a check on migration. We consider, however, that Unemployment Insurance and the comparatively recent extension of outdoor Poor Law Relief to able-bodied persons discourage migration to an appreciable extent at precisely the ages when, other things being equal, it might be expected that the opportunities of over-sea life would prove most attractive. We do not consider that old age pensions, under either the non-contributory or the contributory scheme, have any considerable effect. The effect of widows' and orphans' pensions must necessarily, at

this early stage of the operation of the new scheme, be largely a matter of conjecture. We think, however, that this scheme will have some influence on married men and that there is little doubt that the prospective loss of pension will be a material consideration in the case of widows contemplating migration (p. 25).

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*Nationality and Naturalization Laws of Certain Foreign Countries.* Misc. No. 2 (1927). Cmd. 2852. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1927. Pp. 91. 1s 6d.

This document, which will be useful for reference purposes, contains extracts from the recent laws of twenty-four countries relating to nationality and naturalization. For the United States the Cable Act of 1922 is printed almost in full on pages 89-90. The material in this pamphlet is in continuation of the two earlier publications on the same subject, Cd. 7027 (1893) and Cmd. 1771 (1922).

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*Report of the Unemployment Insurance Committee.* London: Published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1927. Vol. I, *Report*. Pp. 96. 1s. Vol. II, *Minutes of Evidence*. Pp. 249. 2s. 6d.

This *Report*, which is better known under the name of its chairman as the *Blanesburgh Report*, has been widely discussed in Great Britain since its appearance early in the present year. The fact that the representatives of different political parties on the Committee were able to agree on the recommendations has led the public to hope for Parliamentary action, but the labor representatives who signed the *Report* were subjected to a vote of censure at the meeting of the British Trades Union Congress last September.

The *Report* traces the history of unemployment insurance from the activities of the friendly societies and trade unions in the last century to the introduction of the scheme of partial unemployment insurance in 1911 and the various changes that were made during the war and the post-war periods. The magnitude of the financial issues raised by a comprehensive scheme of unemployment insurance and the incidence of the burden of paying for it is indicated by the fact that in the year 1925-26 the national treasury contributed £13,002,000 (\$63,059,700), and the employers and workers jointly £33,867,000 (\$164,254,950) or a vast total of approximately \$227,315,000. At present the fund is insolvent and is in debt approximately £21,000,000. The proposals of the Committee, however, are supposed, if carried out, to bring the fund back to solvency and put it on an insurance basis once more.

In making their recommendations, the Committee look forward to a gradual diminution of the volume of unemployment and to a return to pre-war conditions under which the government actuary's estimates of the risk to be covered by insurance payments will once more be on a sound basis.

The Act of 1920 was intended to meet the ordinary risk of unemployment, and the rates of contribution were based upon the government actuary's calculation of the extent of that risk. These rates have been more than doubled, and yet the Ministry of Labour estimates that half the recipients of benefit are receiving benefit for which they have paid no actuarial equivalent.

It is doubtful whether the Committee are justified in their hopeful anticipations of getting back promptly to a genuine insurance system and putting the unemployment insurance fund again on a solvent basis.

The six conditions laid down by the Committee as a basis for future insurance policy are, of course, sound. These may be summarized briefly as follows: that the wage-earner's contribution must be moderate; that the benefit must not be so great as to tempt the wage-earner to improvidence while he is earning good pay; that the benefit must always be less in amount than the wage-earner's normal rate of pay; that the mobility of labor must not be restricted; that there must be no deterrent to emigration for those who are well fitted for a life overseas; and that within these limitations the scheme should be as attractive as it is possible on actuarial grounds to make it.

In the volume of *Minutes of Evidence* social workers will read with great interest the testimony of the representatives of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, the Association of Poor Law Unions, the representatives of the Boards of Poor Law Guardians, and the memorandum submitted by Mr. Pringle for the London Charity Organization Society. But the whole *Report* and the complete minutes of evidence are worthy of careful study in our country, where unemployment is again a pressing social problem.

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*A Bill to Consolidate the Enactments Relating to the Relief of the Poor in England and Wales* (17-18 Geo. V). Ordered to be printed 9 February 1927 (H. L.). Pp. 146. 3s.

*West Ham Union: Report of the Board of Guardians Appointed by the Minister for Six Months Ending May 31, 1927* (Great Britain Ministry of Health) (Cmd. 2900; 1927). Pp. 10. 3d. *Ibid.*, *Report for Six Months Ending October 30, 1926* (Cmd. 2786; 1926). Pp. 15. 6d.

*Chester-le-Street Union: Report of the Board of Guardians Appointed by the Minister for the Six Months Ending December 31, 1926* (Great Britain Ministry of Health) (Cmd. 2818; 1927). Pp. 14. 3d. *Ibid.*, *Report for Six Months Ending June 30, 1927* (Cmd. 2937; 1927). Pp. 14. 2d.

These documents together with the earlier reports dealing with the union of Poplar in the east London area (*Parish of Poplar Borough: Report of a Special Inquiry, 1922*, and *Memorandum of the Rescission of the Poplar Order, 1924*, Cmd. 2052) are of great importance to students who wish to understand the

English Poor Law muddle of the present day. These white papers must, of course, be studied in connection with the annual reports of the Ministry of Health; the Interdepartmental Committee on Public Assistance Administration, 1924 (Cmd. 2011); the *Report* of the Committee on Schemes of Assistance to Necessitous Areas, 1924 (Cmd. 2645); the Parliamentary debates dealing with all these reports; and the Board of Guardians (Default) Bill of last year.

Perhaps the most interesting documents of the series are the Chester-le-Street reports. In this area, which comprises twenty parishes in the county of Durham with a combined population of about 86,000, the Board of Poor Law Guardians consisted of fifty-nine members, of whom thirty-nine were miners' officials, miners, or miners' wives. The members of the Labour party on the Board, including the thirty-nine miners' representatives, numbered forty-seven. During the months of July and August, 1926, while the great coal strike was on, "practically the whole mining population" was reported to be in receipt of relief. At the close of the year 1926 the debt incurred for poor relief was approximately £231,065, a really enormous sum for an area including 86,000 people.

It is difficult for an American to comment on the scale of relief that was set up, since standards of relief like standards of living are very different in England and America. But the problems involved, e.g., the payment of outdoor relief on a large scale to men or to the families of men who are unemployed because of a strike and the administration of a public-relief fund by a Board of which the majority were members of the group on strike, are problems of great interest to us. The two Ministry of Health reports on Chester-le-Street obviously present the attitude of the Conservative party and the conservative Minister of Health on the questions at issue; and the *Daily Herald* or some other paper presenting the point of view of the Labour party should be read along with these officially hostile reports. (See also the leaflets and other publications issued by the Labour party, e.g., "Unemployment and Poverty: The Nation's Responsibility for Relief" and "On the Dole—and Off. What To Do with Britain's Workless Workers," etc.) Nevertheless, to the outsider the whole situation appears to be strangely reminiscent of that which preceded the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834. Certainly there seems to be again the subsidizing of wages out of poor-relief funds on a grand scale. For example, the *Report* quotes the following resolution of one of the three District Relief Committees passed under date of June 21, 1923:

"That the relief cases be renewed for two weeks after which period, the following scale of relief to be put into force, viz.:—

25s. per week for man and wife

5s. per week each child, up to a maximum of £2 10s. per week,

plus  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the total weekly rent

15s. per week for single persons

"That men in employment who are in receipt of low wages be made up to the maximum of £2 10s. *od.* per week." With regard to the latter part of the resolution, the Clerk pointed out that it was illegal to subsidise wages.



The effect of these resolutions was to subsidise wages up to the scale of relief which was at that time a maximum of 50 s [Cmd. 2818, p. 9].

This *Report* also quotes some interesting examples of what the Committee consider "excessive relief," but these cases can be read intelligently only by one who has English wage levels clearly in mind.

The Poor Law Bill (17-18 Geo. V, c. 14), which was finally passed July 29, 1927, was, as the title indicates, a consolidation measure. It contains 246 sections and brings together in one statute a long list of different acts dealing with poor relief, beginning with the famous Elizabethan Act of 1601 (43 Eliz. c. 2) and coming on down over a period of 325 years to the Board of Guardians (Default) Act of 1926 (16-17 Geo. V, c. 20).

Those interested in public-relief policies and methods of administration will find the Parliamentary papers of post-war England a mine of valuable information.

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*Fifteenth Annual Report of the Chief of the U.S. Children's Bureau to the Secretary of Labor, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1927. Washington, 1927. Pp. 42. \$0.10.*

This *Report* presents a brief review of the chief activities of the Children's Bureau, which is just rounding out its fifteenth year. The *Report* deals first with the Maternity and Infancy Act (better known under the names of its Congressional sponsors as "Sheppard-Towner") and shows the enormously large returns that have already been realized on the expenditure of the \$1,200,000 a year which the women of America have persuaded Congress to appropriate for the care of mothers and babies. Up to June 30, 1927, forty-three states and Hawaii had accepted the provisions of the act and were co-operating with the Bureau in developing maternity and infant hygiene programs. The only states that have refused the benefits of the act are Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Illinois, strange sponsors for a states'-rights program that approves the expenditure of federal money for roads, agriculture, and various other purposes, but not for maternal and child health.

Of special interest in the "M. and I." program is the account of the Fourth Annual Conference of the State Directors of Maternity and Infant Hygiene in Washington, where sixty-three representatives of forty states were in attendance together with the consulting Obstetrical Committee of the Children's Bureau. Special clinics and lectures at the Johns Hopkins Hospital and the Johns Hopkins Medical School were features of the program. Of interest also is the way in which the Bureau "individualizes" the work to meet the needs of different states. In some states the program included the holding of a child-health conference, in two southern states instruction for negro midwives, in two other states a graduate obstetrical course for physicians, in two other states investigations of maternal mortality, in twelve other states a statistical analysis of maternity and



infancy work or a survey of infant and maternity homes, in seven other states special assistance in promoting birth registration, etc. It is also of great importance to read that the consulting Obstetrical Committee of the Bureau has been co-operating in the past year in working out a plan for a study of maternal mortality, that this investigation has already begun in three states with the co-operation of the respective state departments of health, and in four other states plans for beginning the study are under way.

Carefully prepared statistical analyses of infant and maternal mortality rates are presented. Too much attention cannot be given to this part of the *Chief's Report* and to the statement that "as in previous years, less progress has been made by the states in getting maternal than infant hygiene work under way" and "much greater effort will have to be made before unnecessary deaths among mothers from puerperal septicemia and other puerperal causes (shown statistically in the *Report*) are radically reduced." This is certainly the kind of fundamentally preventive work that should command the attention of every social worker. It is well of course to improve the methods of foster-home or institutional care for motherless children, but how much more important to keep the mothers alive! This part of the *Children's Bureau Report* must be read against the background of unnecessary physical and mental agony that can be prevented if we have the intelligence and courage necessary to carry out the maternity and infancy program.

Among the more recent activities of the Bureau, the account of the rickets study carried on under the direction of Dr. Martha Eliot with the co-operation of the Yale Medical School in New Haven, and the Department of Health and School of Tropical Medicine in Porto Rico, is of first importance.

The work in the other divisions follows more familiar lines. Recently issued reports and reports in progress are described in the following fields: Child Labor, Delinquency and Child Welfare, Dependent Children, State and County Welfare Activities, Recreation, and State Child Welfare Commissions. A useful "Summary of State Child Welfare Legislation" for the year 1927 is also included in the *Report*, together with an account of the general development of the work of the Bureau.

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*The Children's Bureau of Cleveland. A Study of the Care of Dependent Children in Cleveland, Ohio* (U.S. Children's Bureau Publication No. 177). Washington, 1927. Pp. v+98. \$0.15.

This carefully prepared study of the care of dependent children in Cleveland, Ohio, is of special interest in view of the Cleveland policy of attempting to centralize in a single bureau the whole problem of child dependency. The report shows clearly the changing status of the so-called "orphan asylum." It has long been known to social workers that orphans no longer exist in sufficient numbers to fill our children's institutions. A survey made in Cleveland in 1920 showed that out of 5,035 children who had been in fourteen orphanages only 8 per cent

were full orphans, 43 per cent were half-orphans, and 49 per cent had both parents living.

The United States Children's Bureau in a more extended survey of 19,879 dependent children in 9 states found that only 5 per cent were full orphans, 30 per cent half-orphans, and 65 per cent had both parents living. In one state there were 1,690 children supported at public expense in 37 orphanages; and, of this number, 4 per cent were full orphans, 29 per cent half-orphans, and nearly 67 per cent were believed to have both parents living.

If so large a percentage of the children in our present-day institutions still have both parents living, it is important to know what the family circumstances are that make it necessary for parents to place the responsibility for the care of their children upon the taxpayers and at the same time deprive their children of the advantages of family life. When information is sought to explain this situation, it frequently appears that the records of the institutions are barren of data on this point, and it is generally known that many institutions accept children with little or no investigation. Since many of the institutions do not have work enough for, and think that they cannot afford, a full-time social worker, the method of a central bureau has been devised to provide the social service needed for a large group of institutions.

The present study shows the work of such a "common service" bureau in Cleveland, which has been one of the pioneer communities in the establishment of such service. The chief function of the Bureau has been the investigation of applications for admission of children to institutions, but it has also carried on the follow-up work. The great merit of the plan seems to be its inclusive character; that is, all the institutions of the community are brought up to a reasonably high level of social work. Whether the plan is an ideal one is another matter. It may well be argued that it is better for each institution to have its own social worker who carries over into the institution her knowledge of the background from which its children come. But for a high average standard the Cleveland plan has definitely recognized merits.

The present report calls attention to another opportunity, of which the Bureau has not yet been able to take advantage: a central clearing bureau should give the community an opportunity to search out the underlying causes of child dependency in order that a policy of preventive work may be developed. This opportunity to interpret and evaluate the valuable data that are being accumulated in the central bureau will undoubtedly be followed up at some future date.

# INDEX TO VOLUME I

## SUBJECTS

	PAGE
Addams, Jane, Dinner in Honor of . . . . .	141
Administration, Frontiers of Control in Public Welfare. <i>S. P. Breckinridge</i> . . . . .	84
Administration of Private Social Service Agencies: A Topical Bibliography. <i>W. W. Burke</i> . . . . .	104, 270
Adoption Legislation, Experiments in. <i>Elinor Nims</i> . . . . .	241
After Many Days. The Case of Edward Cahill. <i>Blanche J. Paget</i> . . . . .	632
Alcoholism among Parents of Juvenile Delinquents. <i>Alice Channing</i> . . . . .	357
American Association of Hospital Social Workers . . . . .	443, 493
American Association of Social Workers . . . . .	139, 492, 643
American Prison Association . . . . .	646
Antisindicalism Laws . . . . .	494
Association of Schools of Professional Social Work . . . . .	138
Belgium's First Social Settlement . . . . .	653
Bequests in Relation to Child Welfare, Wills and. <i>John S. Bradway</i> . . . . .	567
Bibliography, Topical: Administration of Private Social Service Agencies. <i>W. W. Burke</i> . . . . .	104, 270
Blake, William, Centenary Year . . . . .	506
Book Reviews . . . . .	149, 328, 509, 660
Booth, Charles, Some Recollections of. <i>Clara E. Collet</i> . . . . .	384
Bridgman, Laura, The Historic Case of . . . . .	300
Budget of the Unskilled Laborer. <i>Leila Houghteling</i> . . . . .	1
Bureaux de Bienfaisance, Reform in . . . . .	322
Capital Punishment and the Sacco-Vanzetti Case . . . . .	645
Case of Edward Cahill, The. <i>Blanche J. Paget</i> . . . . .	632
Case Record, Prize Medical Social. <i>Gertrude Tennant</i> . . . . .	443
Case Work in Germany, Undifferentiated. <i>Francelia Stuenkel</i> . . . . .	621
Census of Social Workers . . . . .	643
Charity, Principles of Public (Source Materials). <i>Samuel Gridley Howe</i> . . . . .	306
Charity and Women's Wages. <i>Leila Houghteling</i> . . . . .	390
Charity Organisation Quarterly . . . . .	647
Charity Organization Movement . . . . .	319
Charity Organization Society, Semicentennial . . . . .	503, 647
Chicago, Negro Mortality Rates in. <i>H. L. Harris, Jr.</i> . . . . .	58
Chicago Truck Farms, Women at Work on. <i>Dorothy Williams Burke</i> . . . . .	194
Child Welfare, Wills and Bequests in Relation to. <i>John S. Bradway</i> . . . . .	567
Children's Bureau of Philadelphia . . . . .	632

	PAGE
Children's Workers, Present Provision for Training. <i>C. C. Carstens</i> . . .	235
Civil War and the Crime Wave of 1865-70. <i>Edith Abbott</i> . . .	212
Committee on Scientific Aspects of Human Migration . . . . .	258
Compensation Law, The Economic and Social Status of the Injured Workman under the New York. <i>Amy Hewes</i> . . . . .	606
Crime Rate, Negro . . . . .	500
Crime Wave of 1865-70, The Civil War and the. <i>Edith Abbott</i> . . .	212
Delinquents, Alcoholism among Parents of Juvenile. <i>Alice Channing</i> . .	357
Deportation Legislation in the Sixty-ninth Congress. <i>Ernst Freund</i> . .	46
Dix, Dorothea L. (frontispiece) . . . . .	I
Dix, Dorothea L., and Federal Aid . . . . .	117
Emigration and Immigration, Second International Conference on . .	654
Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences . . . . .	312
England, Labor and Poor Reform in. <i>Marion Phillips</i> . . . . .	581
England, Vital Statistics . . . . .	316, 501
Families, Relief for Large, in France . . . . .	317
Family Social Work, Fiftieth Anniversary of Organization, at Buffalo .	503, 647
Federal Aid and Dorothea L. Dix . . . . .	117
France, Bureaux de Bienfaisance in . . . . .	322
France, Relief for Large Families in . . . . .	317
France, Social Work in. <i>Carlotta Welles</i> . . . . .	537
France, Vital Statistics . . . . .	501
French Illiteracy Statistics . . . . .	653
French National Conference of Public and Private Assistance. . . .	504
Frontiers of Control in Public Welfare Administration. <i>S. P. Breckin- ridge</i> . . . . .	84
Gang Phenomenon, The. <i>Sheldon Glueck</i> . . . . .	557
German Association of Women Social Workers . . . . .	621, 647
German "Society for Social Reform" . . . . .	327
German Welfare Day . . . . .	649
Germany, Protection of Mothers in . . . . .	657
Germany, State Examinations for Social Workers in . . . . .	140
Germany, Undifferentiated Case Work in. <i>Francelia Stuenkel</i> . . .	621
Germany's New Public Welfare Law. <i>Elisabet von Harnack</i> . . . .	406
Gerry, Elbridge T., Death of . . . . .	324
Girard, Stephen (frontispiece) . . . . .	357
Girard, Stephen (1750-1831) . . . . .	470
Girard, Stephen, and the Yellow Fever Epidemic (Source Materials). <i>Mathew Carey</i> . . . . .	474
Girard, Stephen, Will of . . . . .	481
Girard Will Case, Opinion of the Court in . . . . .	487
Great Britain, Widows' and Orphans' Pensions in. <i>S. P. Breckinridge</i> .	349
Honor System at Sing Sing and at Louisiana State Penitentiary . . .	499

# INDEX TO VOLUME I

705

	PAGE
Hospital Social Workers, American Association of . . . . .	443, 493
Houghteling, Leila (1889-1927) . . . . .	148
How Little Can the Community Afford? . . . . .	655
Howe, Samuel Gridley (frontispiece) . . . . .	181
Howe, Samuel Gridley (1801-76) . . . . .	291
Human Migration as a Field of Research . . . . .	258
Illiteracy Statistics, French. . . . .	653
Immigration, Second International Conference on . . . . .	654
Injured Workman under the New York Compensation Law, The Economic and Social Status of. <i>Amy Hewes</i> . . . . .	606
Insane, Federal Aid for . . . . .	117
International Child Welfare Congress. . . . .	141
International Conference of Social Work . . . . .	141, 502
International Conference on Emigration and Immigration. . . . .	654
International Congress of Public and Private Welfare . . . . .	141
International Social Research Institute . . . . .	657
Judge Baker Foundation . . . . .	182, 358
Jutland Verdict of New Jersey. . . . .	506
Juvenile Delinquents, Alcoholism among Parents of. <i>Alice Channing</i> . . . . .	357
Labor and Poor Law Reform in England. <i>Marion Phillips</i> . . . . .	581
Laborer, Budget of the Unskilled. <i>Leila Houghteling</i> . . . . .	1
Law, Germany's New Public Welfare. <i>Elisabet von Harnack</i> . . . . .	406
Law, New York Compensation. <i>Amy Hewes</i> . . . . .	606
Law, Sterilization . . . . .	497
Laws, Antisyndicalism . . . . .	494
League of Nations and the White Slave Traffic . . . . .	313, 354
Legal Aid Society of New York . . . . .	326
Legislation, Experiments in Adoption. <i>Elinor Nims</i> . . . . .	241
Legislation in the Sixty-ninth Congress, Deportation. <i>Ernst Freund</i> . . . . .	46
Lille Bureau of Charity, Anniversary of Establishment of . . . . .	505
Loch, Sir Charles, Memorial Lectures. . . . .	319
Louisiana State Penitentiary, Honor System at . . . . .	499
Maternity and Infancy Act . . . . .	315, 700
Mayo Clinic Social Case Record. <i>Gertrude Tennant</i> . . . . .	443
Measuring Social Treatment, Problem of. <i>Kate Holladay Claghorn</i> . . . . .	181
Medical Social Case Record, Prize. <i>Gertrude Tennant</i> . . . . .	443
Migration as a Field of Research, Human . . . . .	258
Mortality Rates in Chicago, Negro. <i>H. L. Harris, Jr.</i> . . . . .	58
Mothers in Germany, Protection of . . . . .	657
National Conference of Social Work . . . . .	310, 492
National Probation Association . . . . .	493
Negro and the Southern Floods, The . . . . .	500
Negro Crime Rate . . . . .	500

	PAGE
Negro Mortality Rates in Chicago. <i>H. L. Harris, Jr.</i> . . . . .	58
Nelles, Fred C., Death of . . . . .	658
New Jersey State Police . . . . .	506
New York Compensation Law, The Economic and Social Status of the Injured Workman under the. <i>Amy Hewes</i> . . . . .	606
New York Legal Aid Society . . . . .	326
New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children . . . . .	324
Newspaper Publicity in Aid of Organized Charity, New York City . . . . .	143
Notes and Comment . . . . .	138, 310, 492, 643
Nurses' Training School of the New York Hospital . . . . .	508
Organization of Social Service Exchanges. <i>Francelia Stuenkel</i> . . . . .	414
Orphans' Pensions in Great Britain, Widows' and. <i>S. P. Breckinridge</i> . . . . .	249
Osborne, Thomas Mott (1859-1926) . . . . .	146
Pardon Granted Anita Whitney . . . . .	494
Pardons and the Perovich Case . . . . .	654
Parents of Juvenile Delinquents, Alcoholism among. <i>Alice Channing</i> . . . . .	357
Pensions, Widows' and Orphans', in Great Britain. <i>S. P. Breckinridge</i> . . . . .	249
Perovich Case and Pardons . . . . .	654
Pinel, Dr. Philippe, Centenary. . . . .	142
Pinel, Dr. Philippe (frontispiece) . . . . .	537
Police, New Jersey State . . . . .	506
Poor Law Reform in England, Labor and. <i>Marion Phillips</i> . . . . .	581
Population, First World Conference on . . . . .	652
"Poverty, Nutrition, and Growth." <i>Richard M. Smith</i> . . . . .	597
Prison-Reform Movement and Thomas Mott Osborne . . . . .	146
Private Social Service Agencies, Administration of: A Topical Bibliog- raphy. <i>W. W. Burke</i> . . . . .	104, 270
Prize Medical Social Case Record. <i>Gertrude Tennant</i> . . . . .	443
Probation Association, National . . . . .	493
Protection of Mothers in Germany . . . . .	657
Psychotherapy, Notes on. <i>David M. Levy</i> . . . . .	78
Public Charity, Principles of (Source Material). <i>Samuel Gridley Howe</i> . . . . .	306
Public Documents . . . . .	168, 341, 527, 685
Public Welfare Administration, Frontiers of Control in. <i>S. P. Breckin- ridge</i> . . . . .	84
Public Welfare Law, German's New. <i>Elisabet von Harnack</i> . . . . .	406
Publicity, Newspaper, in Aid of Organized Charity. . . . .	143
Race Superiority, Remarks on. <i>Ellsworth Faris</i> . . . . .	36
Recollections of Charles Booth. <i>Clara E. Collet</i> . . . . .	384
Record, Prize Medical Social Case. <i>Gertrude Tennant</i> . . . . .	443
Registration of Social Statistics . . . . .	651
Relief for Large Families in France . . . . .	317
Research, Human Migration as a Field of . . . . .	258
Research Bureau of Welfare Council of New York . . . . .	507

# INDEX TO VOLUME I

707

	PAGE
Research Council, Social Science . . . . .	100, 258, 310
Research Institute, International Social . . . . .	657
Rush, Benjamin . . . . .	645
Sacco and Vanzetti Case . . . . .	320, 509, 645
Schools of Professional Social Work, Association of . . . . .	138
Schuyler, Louisa Lee (1837-1926) . . . . .	145
Scientific Aspects of Human Migration, Committee on . . . . .	258
Sing Sing, Honor System at . . . . .	499
Smith, Adam, <i>Wealth of Nations</i> Sesquicentennial . . . . .	145
Social Research Institute, International . . . . .	657
Social Science Abstracts. . . . .	310
Social Science Research Council, Work of . . . . .	100, 258, 310
Social Sciences, Encyclopedia of the . . . . .	312
Social Service Agencies, Administration of Private: A Topical Bibliography. <i>W. W. Burke</i> . . . . .	104, 270
Social Service Exchanges, Organization of. <i>Francelia Stuenkel</i> . . . . .	414
Social Settlement, Belgium's First. . . . .	653
Social Statistics, Registration of . . . . .	651
Social Treatment, Problem of Measuring. <i>Kate Holladay Claghorn</i> . . . . .	181
Social Work, Association of Schools of Professional . . . . .	138
Social Work, International Conference of . . . . .	141, 502
Social Work, National Conference of . . . . .	310, 492
Social Work in France. <i>Carlotta Welles</i> . . . . .	537
Social Work in the Sixty-ninth Congress . . . . .	315
Social Workers, American Association of . . . . .	139, 492, 643
Social Workers in Germany, State Examinations for . . . . .	140
Source Materials. . . . .	117, 291, 443, 632
Southern Floods and the Negro . . . . .	500
State Examinations for Social Workers in Germany . . . . .	140
Sterilization Law, Virginia . . . . .	497
Tenement House Reform, Funds for . . . . .	322
Three Generations of Imbeciles . . . . .	497
Training Children's Workers, Present Provisions for. <i>C. C. Carstens</i> . . . . .	235
Truck Farms, Women at Work on Chicago. <i>Dorothy Williams Burke</i> . . . . .	194
Undifferentiated Case Work in Germany. <i>Francelia Stuenkel</i> . . . . .	621
Unskilled Laborer, Budget of. <i>Leila Houghteling</i> . . . . .	1
Virginia Sterilization Law . . . . .	497
Vital Statistics, British Registrar General's Report on . . . . .	316
Vital Statistics of France and England . . . . .	501
Vocational Service for Social Workers and Public Health Nurses . . . . .	139
Wages, Charity and Women's. <i>Leila Houghteling</i> . . . . .	390
Welfare Administration, Frontiers of Control in Public. <i>S. P. Breckinridge</i> . . . . .	84
Welfare Council of New York, Research Bureau of . . . . .	507



	PAGE
White Slave Traffic and the League of Nations . . . . .	313, 354
Whitney, Anita . . . . .	494
Widows' and Orphans' Pensions in Great Britain. <i>S. P. Breckinridge</i> . . . . .	249
Will of Stephen Girard . . . . .	481
Wills and Bequests in Relation to Child Welfare. <i>John S. Bradway</i> . . . . .	567
Women at Work on Chicago Truck Farms. <i>Dorothy Williams Burke</i> . . . . .	194
Women's Wages, Charity and. <i>Leila Houghteling</i> . . . . .	390
World Conference on Population . . . . .	652
Yellow Fever Epidemic, Stephen Girard and the (Source Materials). <i>Mathew Carey</i> . . . . .	474

## AUTHORS

ABBOTT, EDITH. The Civil War and the Crime Wave of 1865-70. . . . .	212
Reviews of:	
Bowley and Hogg, Has Poverty Diminished? . . . . .	149
Brown, World-Migration and Labor . . . . .	515
Fisher, Prohibition at Its Worst . . . . .	166
National Prohibition Law Senate Hearings . . . . .	166
Phillips, Women and the Miners' Lockout . . . . .	676
Salter, Some Early Tracts on Poor Relief . . . . .	519
BECKLEY, HELEN L. Review of: Wulkop, Social Worker in a Hospital Ward. . . . .	338
BEELEY, ARTHUR L. Review of: Steen, The Modern Hospital . . . . .	517
BRADWAY, JOHN S. Wills and Bequests in Relation to Child Welfare. . . . .	567
BRECKINRIDGE, S. P. Frontiers of Control in Public Welfare Administra- tion . . . . .	84
Widows' and Orphans' Pensions in Great Britain. . . . .	249
Reviews of:	
Hall, Children's Courts . . . . .	151
Hart, Light from the North . . . . .	670
Lapp and Ketcham, Hospital Law . . . . .	167
Lockwood, Tools and the Man . . . . .	677
Motion Picture in Its Economic and Social Aspects . . . . .	680
Odum, An Approach to Public Welfare . . . . .	335
Paris charitable, bienfaisant, et social . . . . .	164
Pressland, Education and Social Welfare in Switzerland . . . . .	670
Rathbone, The Disinherited Family . . . . .	525
Sée, Economic and Social Condition in France during the 18th Century . . . . .	678
Squire, Thirty Years in the Public Service . . . . .	331
BURKE, DOROTHY WILLIAMS. Women at Work on Chicago Truck Farms . . . . .	194
BURKE, W. W. Administration of Private Social Service Agencies: A Topical Bibliography . . . . .	104, 270

# INDEX TO VOLUME I

709

PAGE

## Review of:

Proctor and Schuck, Financing of Social Work . . . . .	330
CAREY, MATHEW. Stephen Girard and the Yellow Fever Epidemic (Source Materials) . . . . .	474
CARSTENS, C. C. Present Provision for Training Children's Workers . .	235
CHANNING, ALICE. Alcoholism among Parents of Juvenile Delinquents .	357
CLAGHORN, KATE HOLLADAY. The Problem of Measuring Social Treat- ment . . . . .	181
COLLET, CLARA E. Some Recollections of Charles Booth . . . . .	384
DAVIS, ANNE S. Review of: Hatcher, Occupations for Women . . . .	674
DIX, DOROTHEA L. Memorial of (Source Materials) . . . . .	118
DOUGLAS, PAUL H. Reviews of: Gray, Family Endowment . . . . .	661
Henderson, Inheritance and Inequality . . . . .	328
Rathbone, The Ethics and Economics of Family Endowment . . . .	661
EISLER, EDWIN R. Reviews of: Kulp, Outlines of Sociology of Human Behavior . . . . .	519
La Rue, Mental Hygiene . . . . .	672
FARIS, ELLSWORTH. Remarks on Race Superiority . . . . .	36
FREUND, ERNST. Deportation Legislation in the Sixty-ninth Congress .	46
Review of:	
Frankfurter, The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti . . . . .	509
GLUECK, SHELDON. The Gang Phenomenon . . . . .	557
HARNACK, ELISABET VON. Germany's New Public Welfare Law . . . .	406
HARRIS, H. L., JR. Negro Mortality Rates in Chicago . . . . .	58
HATHWAY, MARION. Review of: La Dame, Securing Employment for the Handicapped . . . . .	673
HEWES, AMY. The Economic and Social Status of the Injured Workman under the New York Compensation Law . . . . .	606
HOUGHTLING, LEILA. The Budget of the Unskilled Laborer . . . . .	1
Charity and Women's Wages . . . . .	390
HOWE, SAMUEL GRIDLEY. Historic Case of Laura Bridgman (Source Materials) . . . . .	300
Principles of Public Charity (Source Materials) . . . . .	306
JONES, MAY M. Review of: Memoria del Segundo Congreso de Mujeres de Cuba . . . . .	675
KELLEY, FLORENCE. Reviews of: Clayton, Rise and Decline of Socialism in Great Britain . . . . .	334
Webb, My Apprenticeship . . . . .	155
LAUNE, F. F. Reviews of: Job, Business Management of Institutional Homes for Children . . . . .	668
Norton, The Co-operative Movement in Social Work . . . . .	510
LEISERSON, W. M. Review of: Jerome, Migration and Business Cycles .	660
LEVY, DAVID M. Notes on Psychotherapy . . . . .	78

	PAGE
LURIE, H. L. Reviews of: Cooley, <i>Life and the Student</i> . . . . .	669
Mowrer, <i>Family Disorganization</i> . . . . .	524
LYTTL, CHARLES. Review of: Cabot, <i>Adventures in Ethics</i> . . . . .	666
MYERS, EARL D. Reviews of: Barnes, <i>The Repression of Crime</i> . . . . .	154
Parsons, <i>Crime and the Criminal</i> . . . . .	340
NIMS, ELINOR. <i>Experiments in Adoption Legislation</i> . . . . .	241
Reviews of:	
Fry, <i>American Villagers</i> . . . . .	523
Israel and Landis, <i>Handbook of Rural Social Resources</i> . . . . .	523
Proceedings of Eighth National Country Life Association . . . . .	523
Reed, <i>Negro Illegitimacy in New York City</i> . . . . .	337
Taylor, <i>Rural Sociology</i> . . . . .	679
OGG, FREDERIC A. Review of: Breckinridge, <i>Public Welfare Administration in the United States</i> . . . . .	513
PAGET, BLANCHE J. <i>After Many Days. The Case of Edward Cahill</i> . . . . .	632
PHILLIPS, MARION. <i>Labor and Poor Law Reform in England</i> . . . . .	581
SMITH, RICHARD M. "Poverty, Nutrition, and Growth" . . . . .	597
SMITH, T. V. Reviews of: Nearing, <i>Where Is Civilization Going?</i> . . . . .	517
Wells, <i>Democracy under Revision</i> . . . . .	665
STUENKEL, FRANCELIA. <i>The Organization of Social Service Exchanges</i> . . . . .	414
<i>Undifferentiated Case Work in Germany</i> . . . . .	621
Reviews of:	
Erkens, <i>Weibliche Polizei</i> . . . . .	521
Salomon, <i>Soziale Diagnose</i> . . . . .	339
Zehn Jahre soziale Berufsarbeit . . . . .	161
TENNANT, GERTRUDE. <i>Prize Medical Social Case Record</i> . . . . .	443
VOLKERT, MONA. Review of: <i>Jugendwohlfahrt und Lehrerschaft</i> . . . . .	159
WEILAND, RUTH. Reviews of: Drexel, <i>Rechte unehelicher Kinder aus den Sozialgesetzen</i> . . . . .	679
Klumker, <i>Der Unehelichenschutz im Deutschen Reich</i> . . . . .	679
<i>Taschenbuch für die Wohlfahrtspflege</i> . . . . .	680
WELLES, CARLOTTA. <i>Social Work in France</i> . . . . .	537
WRIGHT, HELEN R. Reviews of: Cohen, <i>Family Income Insurance</i> . . . . .	663
Cole, <i>A Short History of the British Working-Class Movement</i> . . . . .	157
Vibart, <i>Family Allowances in Practice</i> . . . . .	663

## BOOK REVIEWS AND PUBLIC DOCUMENTS

ADDISON, CHRISTOPHER. <i>Practical Socialism</i> . . . . .	683
BARNES, HARRY ELMER. <i>The Repression of Crime. Earl D. Myers</i> . . . . .	154
BEROLZHEIMER, RUTH, AND NESBITT, FLORENCE. <i>Child Welfare in New Jersey</i> . . . . .	534
BLACKBURN, WILLIAM J. <i>Child Welfare in New Jersey</i> . . . . .	534
BOWLEY, A. L., AND HOGG, MARGARET. <i>Has Poverty Diminished? E. Abbott</i> . . . . .	149

# INDEX TO VOLUME I

711

	PAGE
BRECKINRIDGE, SOPHONISBA P. Public Welfare Administration in the United States: Select Documents. <i>Frederic A. Ogg</i> . . . . .	513
British Registrar General's Report on Vital Statistics . . . . .	316
BROWN, JOHN W. World-Migration and Labor. <i>E. Abbott</i> . . . . .	515
CABOT, RICHARD C. Adventures in Ethics. <i>Charles Lytle</i> . . . . .	666
CARPENTER, MARGERY. Social Work in Berkeley . . . . .	693
CLAYTON, JOSEPH. Rise and Decline of Socialism in Great Britain, 1884-1924. <i>Florence Kelley</i> . . . . .	334
Census of Population of the Irish Free State: Preliminary Report . . . . .	343
Children's Bureau of Cleveland . . . . .	701
COHEN, JOSEPH L. Family Income Insurance. <i>Helen R. Wright</i> . . . . .	663
COLE, G. D. H. A Short History of the British Working-Class Movement, 1789-1925. <i>Helen R. Wright</i> . . . . .	157
COOLEY, CHARLES HORTON. Life and the Student. <i>H. L. Lurie</i> . . . . .	669
County as a Unit for an Organized Program of Child Caring and Protective Work . . . . .	352
CURRY, H. IDA. Public Child-Caring Work in Certain Counties of Minnesota, North Carolina, and New York . . . . .	532
DEARDORFF, NEVA R. Child Welfare Conditions and Resources in Seven Pennsylvania Counties. . . . .	534
Decisions of Courts and Opinions Affecting Labor . . . . .	695
DREXEL, HANNA S. Rechte unehelicher Kinder aus den Sozialgesetzen. <i>Ruth Weiland</i> . . . . .	679
Effects of Applied Research upon the Employment Opportunities of American Women . . . . .	535
EMMERSON, H. C., AND LASCELLES, E. C. P. Guide to the Unemployment Insurance Acts . . . . .	682
ERKENS, JOSEPHINE. Weibliche Polizei. <i>Francelia Stuenkel</i> . . . . .	521
FISHER, IRVING. Prohibition at Its Worst. <i>E. Abbott</i> . . . . .	166
FRANKEL, EMIL. Poor Relief in Pennsylvania . . . . .	341
FRANKFURTER, FELIX. The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti. <i>Ernst Freund</i> . . . . .	509
FRY, C. LUTHER. American Villagers. <i>Elinor Nims</i> . . . . .	523
FURFEY, PAUL HANLY. The Gang Age. <i>Sheldon Glueck</i> . . . . .	557
GRAY, ALEXANDER. Family Endowment. <i>Paul H. Douglas</i> . . . . .	661
GREAT BRITAIN. A Bill To Consolidate the Enactments Relating to the Relief of the Poor in England and Wales . . . . .	698
GREAT BRITAIN. BOARD OF EDUCATION. Report of the Chief Medical Officer, 1925: Health of the School Child . . . . .	352
GREAT BRITAIN. BOARD OF EDUCATION. Report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent . . . . .	692
GREAT BRITAIN. HOME OFFICE. Report of the Departmental Committee on Supervision of Charities . . . . .	689
GREAT BRITAIN. MINISTRY OF HEALTH. Seventh Annual Report, 1925-26 . . . . .	346
GREAT BRITAIN. MINISTRY OF HEALTH. Chester-le-Street Union: Report of the Board of Guardians . . . . .	698

	PAGE
GREAT BRITAIN. MINISTRY OF HEALTH. West Ham Union: Report of the Board of Guardians . . . . .	698
GREAT BRITAIN. MINISTRY OF LABOUR. Report on an Investigation into the Employment and Insurance History of a Sample of Persons Insured against Unemployment in Great Britain . . . . .	691
GREAT BRITAIN. Nationality and Naturalization Laws of Certain Foreign Countries . . . . .	697
GREAT BRITAIN. Public Social Services (Total Expenditure under Certain Acts of Parliament) . . . . .	174
GREAT BRITAIN. Report of the Committee on Education and Industry (England and Wales) . . . . .	347
GREAT BRITAIN. Report of the Departmental Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders, March, 1927 . . . . .	528
GREAT BRITAIN. Report of the Oversea Settlement Committee . . . . .	696
GREAT BRITAIN. Report of the Oversea Settlement Committee on Their Visit to Canada. . . . .	696
GREAT BRITAIN. Report of the Unemployment Insurance Committee . . . . .	697
GREAT BRITAIN. Report on the Effect on Migration of Schemes of Social Insurance . . . . .	696
Greek Refugee Settlement . . . . .	685
HALL, W. CLARKE. Children's Courts. <i>S. P. Breckinridge</i> . . . . .	151
Handbook for the Use of Boards of Directors, Superintendents, and Staffs of Institutions for Dependent Children . . . . .	349
HARRISON, SHELBY M., AND EATON, ALLEN. Welfare Problems in New York City Studied and Reported upon from 1915 through 1925 . . . . .	681
HART, JOSEPH K. Light from the North. <i>S. P. Breckinridge</i> . . . . .	670
HATCHER, ORIE LATHAM. Occupations for Women. <i>Anne S. Davis</i> . . . . .	674
Health of the School Child . . . . .	352
HEALY, WILLIAM, AND BRONNER, AUGUSTA F. Delinquents and Criminals. <i>Kate Holladay Claghorn</i> . . . . .	182
HENDERSON, H. D. Inheritance and Inequality. <i>Paul H. Douglas</i> . . . . .	318
INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE. Methods of Conducting Family Budget Enquiries . . . . .	688
ISRAEL, HENRY, AND LANDIS, BENSON Y. Handbook of Rural Social Resources. <i>Elinor Nims</i> . . . . .	523
JOB, LEONARD BLISS. Business Management of Institutional Homes for Children. <i>F. F. Laune</i> . . . . .	668
Jugendwohlfahrt und Lehrerschaft. <i>Mona Volkert</i> . . . . .	159
KLUMKER, C. J. Der Unehelichenschutz im Deutschen Reich. <i>Ruth Weiland</i> . . . . .	679
KULP, DANIEL H. II. Outlines of Sociology of Human Behavior. <i>Edwin R. Eisler</i> . . . . .	519
JEROME, HARRY. Migration and Business Cycles. <i>W. M. Leiserson</i> . . . . .	660

# INDEX TO VOLUME I

713

PAGE

LaDAME, MARY. Securing Employment for the Handicapped. <i>Marion</i>	.
<i>Halfway</i> . . . . .	673
LAPP, JOHN A., AND KETCHAM, DOROTHY. Hospital Law. <i>S. P. Breckin-</i>	
<i>ridge</i> . . . . .	167
LaRUE, DANIEL W. Mental Hygiene. <i>Edwin R. Eisler</i> . . . . .	672
LEAGUE OF NATIONS. Greek Refugee Settlement . . . . .	685
LEAGUE OF NATIONS. Report of the Special Body of Experts on Traffic in	
Women and Children . . . . .	313, 354
Leverhulme, Viscount. By His Son . . . . .	683
LOCKWOOD, HELEN D. Tools and the Man. <i>S. P. Breckinridge</i> . . . . .	677
London Advisory Council for Juvenile Employment, First and Second	
Annual Reports. . . . .	347
LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL. Common Lodging-Houses and Kindred In-	
stitutions: Report by the Medical Officer of Health. . . . .	527
Lost Time and Labor Turnover in Cotton Mills. . . . .	535
Memoria del Segundo Congreso de Mujeres de Cuba. <i>May M. Jones</i> . . . . .	675
MILLIS, SAVILLA. The Juvenile Detention Home in Relation to Juvenile	
Court Policy . . . . .	530
Motion Picture in Its Economic and Social Aspects. <i>S. P. Breckinridge</i> . . . . .	680
MOWRER, ERNEST R. Family Disorganization. <i>H. L. Lurie</i> . . . . .	524
MURRAY, RAYMOND W. The Delinquent Child and the Law . . . . .	684
National Country Life Association, Proceedings of Eighth. <i>Elinor Nims</i>	523
National Prohibition Law. Senate Hearings. <i>E. Abbott</i> . . . . .	166
Nationality and Naturalization Laws of Certain Foreign Countries . . . . .	697
NEARING, SCOTT. Where Is Civilization Going? <i>T. V. Smith</i> . . . . .	517
NIENBURG, B. M. The Status of Women in the Government Service in	
1925 . . . . .	536
NORTON, WILLIAM JOHN. The Co-operative Movement in Social Work.	
<i>F. F. Laune</i> . . . . .	510
ODUM, HOWARD W. An Approach to Public Welfare and Social Work.	
<i>S. P. Breckinridge</i> . . . . .	335
Paris charitable, bienfaisant, et social, 1926. <i>S. P. Breckinridge</i> . . . . .	164
PARSONS, PHILIP A. Crime and the Criminal. <i>Earl D. Myers</i> . . . . .	340
PENNSYLVANIA CHILDREN'S COMMISSION. Legal Foundations of the Juris-	
diction, Powers, Organization, and Procedure of the Courts of Penn-	
sylvania in Their Handling of Cases of Juvenile Offenders and of	
Dependent and Neglected Children . . . . .	169
PHILLIPS, MARION. Women and the Miners' Lockout. <i>E. Abbott</i> . . . . .	676
Poverty, Nutrition and Growth: Studies of Child Life in Cities and Rural	
Districts of Scotland. <i>Richard M. Smith</i> . . . . .	597
PRESSLAND, A. J. Education and Social Welfare in Switzerland. <i>S. P.</i>	
<i>Breckinridge</i> . . . . .	670

	PAGE
PROCTOR, ARTHUR W., AND SCHUCK, ARTHUR A. Financing of Social Work. <i>W. W. Burke</i> . . . . .	330
Public Social Services (Total Expenditure under Certain Acts of Parliament) . . . . .	174
RATHBONE, ELEANOR. The Disinherited Family. <i>S. P. Breckinridge</i> . . . . .	525
RATHBONE, ELEANOR. The Ethics and Economics of Family Endowment. <i>Paul H. Douglas</i> . . . . .	661
REED, RUTH. Negro Illegitimacy in New York City. <i>Elinor Nims</i> . . . . .	357
ROOT, WILLIAM T., JR. A Psychological and Educational Survey of 1,916 Prisoners in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania . . . . .	531
SALOMON, ALICE. Soziale Diagnose. <i>Francelia Stuenkel</i> . . . . .	339
SALTER, F. R. Some Early Tracts on Poor Relief. <i>E. Abbott</i> . . . . .	519
SÉE, HENRI. Economic and Social Conditions in France during the Eighteenth Century. <i>S. P. Breckinridge</i> . . . . .	678
SMITH, R. H., AND BRADWAY, J. S. Growth of Legal Aid Work in the United States . . . . .	168
SPAULL, HEBE. Champions of Peace . . . . .	682
SPEAKMAN, MARTHA TRAVILLA. Recreation for Blind Children . . . . .	532
SQUIRE, ROSE E. Thirty Years in the Public Service. <i>S. P. Breckinridge</i> . . . . .	331
STEEN, ROBERT HUNTER. The Modern Mental Hospital. <i>A. L. Beeley</i> . . . . .	517
STEWART, E. M. The Cost of American Almshouses . . . . .	341
Taschenbuch für die Wohlfahrtspflege. <i>Ruth Weiland</i> . . . . .	680
TAYLOR, CARL C. Rural Sociology. <i>Elinor Nims</i> . . . . .	679
THRASHER, FREDERIC M. The Gang. <i>Sheldon Glueck</i> . . . . .	557
UNITED STATES. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS. Children under Institutional Care, 1923 . . . . .	176
UNITED STATES. Bureau of Labor Statistics Bulletins . . . . .	168, 341, 695
UNITED STATES. Children's Bureau, Fifteenth Annual Report of the Chief . . . . .	700
UNITED STATES. Children's Bureau Publications . . . . .	177, 349, 352, 358, 532, 534, 700, 701
UNITED STATES. Commissioner-General of Immigration, Annual Report, 1926 . . . . .	172
UNITED STATES. Women's Bureau Bulletins . . . . .	535, 694
VIBART, HUGH H. R. Family Allowances in Practice. <i>Helen R. Wright</i> . . . . .	663
WEBB, BEATRICE. My Apprenticeship. <i>Florence Kelley</i> . . . . .	155
WELLS, H. G. Democracy under Revision. <i>T. V. Smith</i> . . . . .	665
Women in Delaware Industries . . . . .	694
Women in Tennessee Industries . . . . .	694
Work of Child-Placing Agencies . . . . .	349
WULKOP, ELSIE. The Social Worker in a Hospital Ward. <i>Helen L. Beckley</i> . . . . .	338
Zehn Jahre soziale Berufsarbeit. <i>Francelia Stuenkel</i> . . . . .	161



